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THE DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNORS.*

PETER MINUIT AND WALTER VAN TWILLER.

"Adventure brought men to Virginia," writes Henry Cabot Lodge in his *English Colonies in America*, "politics and religion to New England, philanthropy to Georgia; but New York was founded by trade and for trade, and for nothing else. The settlement on the island of Manhattan was due to the active spirit of Dutch commerce." The early trading voyages were now to be succeeded by permanent colonization. But none the less was the aim of the West India Company that of merchants rather than of statesmen, to derive financial profit from the settlement rather than to create a new province for the advancement of social prosperity and political principles. It was inevitable under these circumstances that the conduct of colonial affairs should suffer from mistakes.

A clearer conception of the conditions under which Colonial Government in New York began may be obtained by a brief glance at the colonies already established on the soil of the subsequent United States of America. Virginia's permanent settlement dates from the year 1607, and after many vicissitudes, after many discouragements and even disasters, it was at this time greatly prospering under the liberal rule of Sir George Yeardley. It was he who instituted the first colonial legislature, consisting of representatives from the people, and which began its sessions in July, 1619, or a whole year before the Pilgrims left Leyden. In 1622, no less than four thousand souls occupied plantations along both banks of the James River, and after the Indian massacres of that year and the consequent wars, inducing many to

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

return to England, there remained still a population of nearly twenty-five hundred. While Minuit governed New Netherland a charter was granted to Lord Baltimore embracing the territory that later became the State of Maryland, but the first colonists did not arrive until Van

of the times a plantation of men who might be expected to prove friendly to the settlers from Holland, so that in this distant quarter of the world much mutual comfort could be derived from their comparatively close neighborhood. These were the Pilgrims at New Plymouth, still filled



THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

Twiller had succeeded to the directorship in 1634, and the next year already beheld a popular assembly established among them, with religious toleration the keynote of their history from the very beginning. In New England since 1620 there had been prepared by the circumstances

with memories of the free Republic; still receiving accessions to their numbers from the families left in Leyden when the Speedwell sailed away with the first adventurers. And in these regions, too, other colo-



nies found a home before Director Minuit's term had expired. Portsmouth and Dover, which Bancroft places "among the oldest towns in New England," had been established in 1623; and five years later stern John Endicott settled at Salem. In 1630 religious intolerance had already sent back the brothers Browne for daring to adhere to the Church of England, but the year was also marked by a brighter event, the coming of Governor John Winthrop with seven hundred colonists and the founding of the city of Boston. Finally in 1636, or one year before Director Van Twiller's term ended, Rhode Island's history began with the colony established by Roger Williams at Providence—a monument to his own liberal spirit and to advanced ideas that were to find America so congenial a soil in later generations; but also a living witness to the wrong then committed, of practicing under these free skies that very religious persecution which had driven its perpetrators themselves across the broad Atlantic. It was nearly fifty years after Minuit's arrival before the Carolinas were colonized; and almost sixty years ere William Penn established a refuge for Quakers in the State known by his name. Georgia originated just a century after the expiration of the term of the first Director-General of New Netherland, while that colony itself was the beginning of the States of Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey and New York.

History records that Peter Minuit, appointed Director-General of New Netherland, embarked in the ship called the *Sea-Mew*, on December 19, 1625. Detained by the ice in the broad harbor of the Y or in the *Zuyder Zee*, the vessel did not clear the Texel channel till January 9th, and on the 4th of May, 1626, arrived at Manhattan Island.

There had been two Directors before Minuit, but the office was to be henceforth of a more important nature, and was thus distinguished by a more exalted title, and he was the first Director-General. On board the same ship with him came his council consisting of five members, Peter Bylvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wisinck, John Jansen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos and Reynert Harmensen. These were to advise the Director upon all matters pertaining to the government of the colony, and to see to it that he and others properly advanced the interest of the Company. They constituted also a court for the trial of offences, but could not punish beyond the imposition of a fine. Capital cases were to be referred to the mother country. Indeed, although New Amsterdam was not incorporated as a city until 1653, the appointment of the colonial officers seems to have been modeled after the plan of municipal government in Holland, even the number of the council suggesting the analogy. In Dutch town government the court of the Schepens or Scabini consisted

of five, seven, nine, eleven or thirteen members according to the size of the place, five being the least. When it is considered that the other officers were a secretary and a schout, or a schout-fiscal, the municipal form is borne out still more completely. The secretary first met with is Isaac de Rasieres, who, however, did not come with the Sea-Mew, but arrived in July of this year. The schout-fis-

official of Netherland towns who in earliest times was superior to the Burgomasters. While so much of New Netherland centered at Manhattan Island the Colonial Government was practically a town government.

About the personal history of Peter Minuit very little is known. He is generally introduced to us as being from Wessel, a town of Rhenish Prussia, very near the borders of Holland;



FIRST VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

cal was John Lampe. His was an office much like a sheriff of our day, but combining also the functions of prosecuting attorney and counsel for the defence at the same time. Several other odd and incongruous duties fell to his share in the new community. But in a general way Lampe's office resembled both in name and in character that of the most prominent

and hence he has been called by some writers a German. But his name is unquestionably Dutch, it being the old form of the word for minute, which in ancient Dutch is spelled "minuit," while illiterate people still use the older pronunciation. Wesel, so near the borders, had been a veritable "city of refuge" in the days of persecution under the Duke of Alva,

and thousands of Protestants fled to it from Holland. In 1568, the year of the beginning of the Eighty Years' War, the first Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church was held there, and when the Republic had gained strength and freedom, it is possible that some of her citizens remained permanent residents of the town. Hence Peter Minuit may have been of Dutch parentage though born at Wesel; for in the church composed of the descendants of the Dutch refugees, we learn from the letter of the first pastor on Manhattan Island that Minuit was a deacon. How he came to be selected by the Dutch West India Company for their first Director-General does not appear. He must, however, have commended himself as a person worthy to be intrusted with the command of others, and of a sufficiently adventurous disposition to try his fortunes under circumstances so novel as they were likely to be in the New World. It is also extremely probable that the Amsterdam merchants had knowledge of his capacity as derived from some occupation or office connected with the East India Company. Its possessions abroad had become a training-school for energetic and enterprising young men in the work of colonial government and the advancement of Dutch commerce. Wesel was far from the sea but on the banks of the Rhine, and Amsterdam, with its preponderating size and wealth, acted as a loadstone upon all ambitious

natures who wished to see the world, to every part of which she was daily sending scores of ships.

There being no houses suitable to receive the Director-General, his council and his subordinate officers, it may be supposed that they remained for a time upon the *Sea-Mew* while she lay anchored in some sheltered cove within the shore-line of Manhattan Island. The first act of the colonial government was the highly honorable one of securing the land to be acquired by purchase from its aboriginal owners. Imagination, aided by the painter's brush, has brought that scene before the minds of later generations. On the very edge of the land, low by the water, in a clearing of the primeval forest, stood the representatives of European civilization face to face with the "untutored Indian." We can see the glittering trinkets brought from the ship near by in chests, opened upon the shore, the eager eyes of Indian men and women watching the display of the contents, each article still more wonderful than that which went before. An extent of territory which Minuit and his officers estimated at eleven thousand Dutch morgens, or more than twenty-two thousand acres, was definitely transferred in some way doubtless mutually understood, as becoming henceforth the property of the strangers from Europe, ceded to them in due form, so that the Indian proprietors comprehended and appreciated that it had

passed out of their hands into those of the others, conveying to them an ownership as legitimate as had been their own. Exception has been taken to the inadequacy of the price paid: sixty guilders or twenty-four dollars. Yet how was adequacy of price then to be determined? And what would the Indians have cared for a hundred thousand florins, at which the Dutch valued a ton of gold?

Of this purchase, so unique and rare an episode in the history of American colonization, there fortunately exists unassailable proof. On July 27, 1626, a vessel named the *Arms of Amsterdam* arrived at Manhattan Island. She bore as passenger Isaac de Rasieres, the secretary of the colonial government, and had for her captain Adriaen Joris, who in 1623 accompanied Captain May and was left in charge of the colony at Fort Orange. On the 23d of September the vessel was ready to sail again for the Fatherland with a valuable cargo of furs and logs of timber, soon to be tested in Holland for its ship-building qualities. But more than that, she carried the official announcement of the purchase of Manhattan Island, addressed to the "Assembly of the XIX" of the West India Company in session at Amsterdam; for the first six years of the charter were not yet past. The nineteenth member, representing the States-General at this session, was Peter Jans Schaghen, councilor and magistrate of the city of Alkmaar, in North Holland, and

deputy in the States-General from the States of Holland and West Friesland. While in duty bound to report the proceedings of the Assembly of the XIX to the august body who had delegated him, it would scarcely seem likely that he was required to send a report every day. It is more probable that after the adjournment of the former he would render an account of its affairs in person at a regular session of the States-General. But on November 4, 1626, so interesting an event occurred that he did not wait to report it in person. The *Arms of Amsterdam* had arrived from New Netherland and the announcement of the purchase had been presented in the Assembly. Thereupon, on the next day, Schaghen addressed to the States-General in session at the Hague, the following historic letter:

High Mighty Sirs:

Here arrived yesterday the ship *The Arms of Amsterdam* which sailed from New Netherland out of the Mauritius River on September 23; they report that our people there are of good courage and live peaceably. Their women, also, have borne children there, they have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders, is 11,000 morgens in extent. They sowed all their grain the middle of May and harvested it the middle of August. Thereof being samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, small beans and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: 7246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wild-cat (lynx) skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins. Many logs of oak and nutwood. Herewith be ye High mighty Sirs, commended to the Almighty's grace, In Amsterdam, November 5, Ao. 1626.

Your High Might.'s Obedient,

P. SCHAGHEN.

4ste 5.

7 november 1626
Recept Hooche Moghende Heeren

Guk is gysick t'lyep t'wopen van Amsterdam
achtkomst inde is ds 23^e septem. met rind rind
lant gelykt met de Hoken Manivitius. rapporten
dat ons volck dank klove is in velding l'p
gare krowen gelyk ooc kinkes alre gelyk
gelyk t'lyant manketter van de veld gelyk, voon
de veld van 60 gul. is groot 11000 marg
gelyk alle kox gelyk met gelyk, inde gelyk
augusto gelyk. Dank van gelykde minstekel
van gelyk kox, als taxen, hogge, gelyk, gelyk
kox gelyk. Anaxiet, boontjeh in veld.

Het Cargasoen van t'lye selij 15

7246 l'lye veld
178 $\frac{1}{2}$ l'lye veld
675. l'lye veld
48. minke veld
36. veld veld
33 minke
34 l'lye veld.

Wese gelyk belot, in noten gelyk.

Guk met

Gooze moghende gelyk, gelyk ds Demogende
in veld gelyk.

In Amsterdam den 5^e novem d' 1626

Groe Hoo: Moo: Dienstwillighe

Schuylen

The letter is addressed: "Messieurs the States-General, in the Hague," and the original copy is preserved to this day among the archives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. By the courtesy of Mr. T. H. F. Van Riemsdyk, the "General Archivist" at the Hague, a photographic copy was for the first time permitted to be taken, and thus its fac-simile reproduction upon the preceeding page furnishes undeniable proof of the purchase of the island of Manhattan by Director-General Minuit as the initial act of his term of office, and the inauguration of colonial government for the State of New York.

From the letter of Deputy Schagen it would appear that the colonists who accompanied the director very soon addressed themselves to cultivating the purchased land. Having arrived at Manhattan on May 4th, by the middle of the month, it appears, grain of many kinds was already in the ground. But there was work also of another character for a portion of the pioneers. A military engineer, whose name is given by Wassanaer as Kryn Fredericke, accompanied the expedition, and under his direction labor was at once commenced upon the lines of a regular fort.

Surveying in advance the period of this administration, there seem to be but few events upon which to dwell. Perhaps this evinces its peculiar merit, according to the familiar maxim, "Happy is the people that

has no annals." Until recent years, the very fact that Peter Minuit ruled here as director was somewhat apocryphal. "Some doubt has hitherto existed," remarked Senator Folsom, in his report on Brodhead's collection of documents, "in regard to the name of the Director-General or governor of the colony prior to the year 1633; and although it was generally supposed that the office was then held by Peter Minuit, yet no official act of that person as chief magistrate was among our records." Mr. Brodhead found an original document conveying part of the Patroonship on the Delaware, and bearing Minuit's name. Two other documents, however, exist, which afford additional proof of his directorship. They were discovered by the writer while engaged in the summer of 1889 in making researches among the archives of Amsterdam. A contract and deed exist, signed by Director Minuit and his council, and conveying part of the Patroonship of Rensselaerswyck.

There exists therefore ample documentary evidence that before 1633 Peter Minuit guided the destinies of New Netherland under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company. And uneventful as were the years of his incumbency, it will be observed that the few events that present themselves for notice proved to be the germ of later occurrences of importance, especially in the matter of the relations with the English and the surrounding Indians; while the

institution of the *Patroonships*, beginning under Peter Minuit's Administration, was both fatal to its continuance and left for future generations a heritage of trouble and legal contentions.

Negotiations with the English colonies were soon inaugurated. The Indians occupying the territory lying between the Dutch and the Pilgrims, who traded their furs to representatives from both settlements, soon made them aware of one another's exact positions. Minuit was the first to extend the courtesy of addressing letters to Governor William Bradford, conveying a formal

William Bradford

and cordial greeting. But from the first a presage of trouble was thrown into the intercourse. Bradford receiving Minuit's letters written in French and Dutch early in March, 1627, replied on March 29th. He acknowledged with cordiality the indebtedness incurred and the gratitude felt by the Pilgrims toward the Netherlands for "the good and courteous entreaty" which they had found in their country, "having lived there many years with freedom and good content." But at the same time he reminded the Dutch that the region where they had settled was England's by first right, offering indeed no interference on his own part, but warning them against the possi-

ble assertion of that right on the part of the Virginians, or by vessels from England engaged in the fisheries on the American coast. Director Minuit hastened to assure the Governor of New Plymouth Colony that there was no doubt in his own mind or in that of his countrymen as to their right to settle in New Netherland. In his zeal to assert a priority of trade he put an exaggerated estimate upon the length of time the Dutch had been trading in this vicinity, making it "six or seven and twenty years," instead of sixteen or seventeen. These letters had been dispatched back and forth by the hands of friendly Indians. But when Minuit's last missive, sent in May, had received no reply by August, on the 9th of that month he sent the captain of a vessel then in port, to carry a third communication to Governor Bradford. This was John Jacobsen, of the island of Wieringen, in the *Zuyder Zee*. He sailed with his ship the "*Drie Koningen*," or the Three Kings, into Buzzard's Bay, and landing at a point then called Manomet, now Monument Village, in the town of Sandwich, he proceeded on foot to New Plymouth. He was graciously received by Bradford, and sent back with a request for a still more formal delegation, to consist of a person in authority at Fort Amsterdam, with whom negotiations could be effected of an important nature. Director Minuit readily fell in with this request, and selected for the mis-

sion the Provincial Secretary, who may be regarded as next in command under him. The ship *Nassau*, freighted with merchandise both for trading and for presentation to the Governor, was placed at his disposal, and a party of soldiers with a trumpeter was sent as a guard of honor. The *Nassau* proceeded to Manomet, whence De Rasieres sent word to Bradford that he had arrived at this point, but naively remarking that he

embarking in the boat, he reached New Plymouth in due season, "honorably attended with a noise of trumpets." The principal result of these personal negotiations, besides cementing the bonds of friendship, and encouraging commerce between the two colonies, was the sale to the Pilgrims of a quantity of wampum, and the recommendation of its use in trading with the natives. The English soon found great advantages



GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S HOUSE.

could not follow Captain Jacobsen's example and walk all the remainder of the journey. "I have not gone so far this three or four years," he added, "wherefore I fear my feet will fail me." A boat was accordingly sent up a creek falling into Cape Cod Bay from the south, whose head waters reached to within four or five miles of Manomet on the other side of the isthmus. To this short distance De Rasieres did not object, and

flowing from their adoption of this practical advice. It is, however, to be regretted that relations so profitably initiated should have been marked ere long by unpleasant features.

Scanty as is the record of events during two administrations, it is a singularly fortunate circumstance that there are in existence two letters descriptive of Manhattan Island during the earliest years of coloniza-

tion. One of these is the letter of Secretary De Rasiere's, which, in addition to describing affairs within the colony, furnishes the details of his embassy to New Plymouth just noted. The other was written in 1628 by the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the first clergyman settled on this island, and is addressed to a minister in Amsterdam. It affords an admirable picture of every-day life; of the trials and hardships that beset the first settlers of Manhattan.

The first item of importance gathered from this interesting epistle is the character of a sea voyage in the year 1628. This of course was the initiatory stage in the process of colonizing, and it certainly was enough to deter emigrants altogether. Leaving Amsterdam on January 24th, the ship which conveyed Mr. Michaelius and his family did not arrive at Manhattan till April 7th. And that long journey was marked by the endurance of the most disagreeable hardships. The captain was often intoxicated. He would not listen to complaints when in this condition, nor would he remedy matters when he was sober. The minister's family, consisting of his wife, two little girls and a boy, were subjected to great deprivations. "Our fare in the ship was very poor and scanty, so that my blessed wife and children, not eating with us in the cabin, had a worse lot than the sailors themselves." Even when they were ill other than with

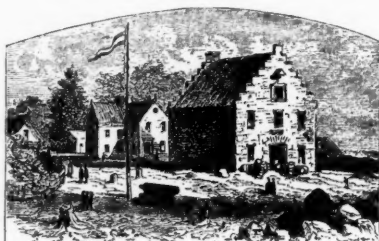
seasickness, from which they did not long suffer, no better fare was provided for them, because of the captain's culpable neglect of his duties. Indeed, as a result, seven weeks after landing, the worthy lady died from the effects of this dreadful experience. These facts are certainly instructive: if a minister's family was reduced to endure such treatment on board of a ship, what must have been the experience of ordinary emigrants? Hence it must have then required courage to undertake the settling of colonies in distant America, the test of endurance beginning even before arriving. On land everything was rude, tentative, in short, primitive, and therefore imperfect, and the privations were necessarily numerous and distressing. In the meantime the thirty houses first built along the North River shore must have increased in number and improved in manner of construction. In 1628, Wassenauer informs us there was a population of two hundred and seventy souls; but all New Netherland was then concentrated at Fort Amsterdam. Troubles between the Indian tribes near Fort Orange, in the course of which several Dutch settlers had lost their lives through imprudent and unwarranted interference, had induced the careful Minuit to order all the families residing there to come to Manhattan, leaving only a garrison of men; while for another reason not quite apparent, but perhaps an economical one, the colonists on the

Delaware were ordered to abandon Fort Nassau, and likewise to make their homes on this island.

This small number of not quite three hundred colonists is a great contrast to the four thousand people on the banks of the James River in 1622, and seven hundred at once arriving under Winthrop at Boston in 1630. It must have been difficult to induce adventurers to leave Holland, and the number of religious refugees was not so extensive as to cause a constant emigration to New Netherland. It was therefore determined, in 1629, to put into operation a scheme which had been tried with success in Brazil, now passing into the possession of the West India Company. Discovered and explored in the interest of Portugal and in 1500-1501 by Americus Vespucius, for about thirty years thereafter, Southey informs us, the country was apparently neglected. "It had then become of sufficient importance," he continues, "to obtain some consideration at court, and in order to forward its colonization, the same plan was adopted which had succeeded so well in Madeira and the Azores, that of dividing it into hereditary Captaincies, and granting them to such persons as were willing to embark adequate means in the adventure, with powers of jurisdiction both civil and criminal, so extensive as to be in fact unlimited."

In this description may be seen the model for the Patroon-ships of New

Netherland. In 1629 the Assembly of the XIX, with the approbation of the States-General, published a Charter of Privileges and Exemptions. It addressed itself only to "members of the Company," even as the Captaincies had been granted only to favorites at the Portuguese Court, but the restriction in the former case was a more reasonable one than the latter. "All such" of the directors, and possibly also of the shareholders, would "be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland" who should "within the space of four years undertake to plant a colony there of fifty souls upward of fifteen years old." Population was there-



THE FIRST WAREHOUSE.

fore wisely made the *sine qua non*. Should that condition fail to be complied with within the allotted time, all privileges and exemptions and grants of land would at once cease and be forfeit. In consideration of the effort to plant such a colony, however, there would be given in absolute property sixteen miles of territory upon one side of any river in New Netherland, or eight miles on

both sides, the extent back from the stream being left practically unlimited. For this land, title must be obtained from the aboriginal possessors by suitable purchase.

It appears that the system of Patroonships was a curious and confusing mixture of large privileges and small restrictions. The extent of the liberties enjoyed in many directions would only make the yoke of the prohibitions the more galling; and here lay the real difficulty with the scheme, furnishing cause for endless contentions and eventual failure. Some writers trace this result, as well as the difficulties that grew out of the Patroonships, to the fact that the system was an attempt to ingraft European feudalism upon American soil. This, however, would apply more correctly to the colonization of Maryland, of which Bancroft thus truly says: "To the proprietary was given the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of the sub-infuedation. But feudal institutions could not be perpetuated in the land of their origin, far less renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor forest be transplanted across the Atlantic than antiquated social forms." If it were intended to tempt the capitalists of Holland with the attraction of feudal authority, it must be said that very few availed themselves of the opportunity. The attractions of the system for men of

means, but without pedigrees and without patrimonial estates, are descanted on by Brodhead. But less than a score of such persons engaged in the colonizing enterprise. The real temptation was commercial advantage; and the rock upon which the whole establishment suffered shipwreck was trade, too eagerly indulged in by the Patroons, and too stringently prohibited by the Company. The Directors who hastily procured for themselves territories in America before they quite knew what the provisions of the charter were to be were more than disappointed when the true state of their case became known; and, as one of the later Patroons himself asserted, the conditions themselves instead of attracting rather discouraged people from becoming Patroons.

Manhattan Island was entirely exempted from this experiment in colonization, and only one of them came within close proximity to it. The first to avail themselves of its privileges were two merchants of Amsterdam and Directors of the Company, Samuel Bloemaert and Samuel Godyn. Before the States-General had seen the document, even before it had received the final revision and approval of the Assembly of the XIX, these men had sent agents to America to select lands and to buy them from the Indians. When, therefore, in 1630, the sanction of the republican Congress was obtained, they were ready at once to appear before the

Colonial Government with evidences of purchase, and obtained a ratification of their grant. Their territories extended thirty-two miles along the Delaware River on the southwest bank, and sixteen miles on the northeast shore, both tracts having been bought within the year. From the two documents in fac-simile, it is learned that earnest efforts had been made also to obtain lands around Fort Orange for Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, and a director, through the officers in charge there, and agents were sent among the Indians to persuade the reluctant ones to part with their broad acres. As a result, five or six Indian chiefs owning property along the Hudson extending several miles both to the north and south of the fort, having first made a contract, appeared afterwards before the Director and Council at Fort Amsterdam, and formally ceded their lands. This was the beginning of the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, the only one among the Patroonships that proved a success. Ere this same year (1630) was over, a third proprietary appeared in the person of Michael Paauw, also a director, some of whose relatives had been Burgomasters of Amsterdam. His territory lay near Manhattan Island, including at first Hoboken-Hacking, the name indicating a site familiar to residents of New York. But in rapid succession were added Staten Island and an intervening space between that and

Hoboken called Ahasimus, now the site of Jersey City. Godyn and Bloemaert having given to their patent the name of "Swanendael," or Swan's Valley, Paauw bestowed upon his the more euphonious title of Pavonia, by translating into Latin his own name, which is the Dutch for peacock.

Thus before a year had passed all the Patroonships that were created by the original charter had already been secured. The first difficulties naturally sprang out of this somewhat undue if not unseemly haste. There appeared to be nothing left for others, except in unprotected regions far from either of the three forts. The Directors had evidently taken advantage of their position in the Chamber of Amsterdam to anticipate all competitors from the other chambers. Naturally jealousies and unpleasant accusations arose between the members of the West India Company, which did not greatly advance the interests of New Netherland. The first compromise growing out of these troubles was in the form of a copartnership in colonizing. Several merchants were admitted to a share of each of the colonies on the Delaware and at Fort Orange, the historian De Laet becoming one of the proprietors in both territories. It is worthy of notice also that while the chief proprietors of Swanendael became copartners for Rensselaerswyck, Van Rensselaer also became a copartner for Godyn and Bloemaert's

patent. Besides De Laet, another name of importance appears (among the copartners for Swanendael only), that of David Pietersen De Vries, author of an exceedingly rare volume of which the following is the Title page.

SHORT HISTORICAL

AND

Journal notes

Of several Voyages made in the four
parts of the World, namely, EUROPE,
AFRICA, ASIA, and AMERICA,

By D

DAVID PIETERSZ.

de VRIES, Ordnance-Master of the Most
Noble Lords, the Committed Council of the
States of West Friesland and the
North Quarter

**Wherein are described what Battles
he has had by Water: Each Country its
Animals, Birds, kind of Fishes and
Savage Men,—counterfeited to
the Life,—and the Woods and Rivers
with their Productions.**



HOORN

For David Pietersz. de Vries, Ordnance-Master of the North Quarter
At Alkmaar, by Symon Cornelisz. Boekenaar Anno 1659

When the Patroons fairly began to comply with the conditions imposed on them, and sent colonizing parties to occupy the land confirmed to them, the trade in furs, the forbidden fruit, proved most attractive, while agriculture, which was the main object of the establishment of the Patroonships, was comparatively neglected, because its returns were slow and small compared with those of the sale of peltries. A conflict with the

Directors of the West India Company was therefore inevitable, and as a result the Assembly of the XIX seriously amended the charter of 1629, rescinding some of the most important exemptions. Van Rensselaer and the others thereupon appeared with a paper of complaints before the States-General, claiming that it was entirely illegal for the Company to rescind what they had so recently granted, and that on the strength of the privileges promised the petitioners had fitted out expensive expeditions. It was urged too, that the Swanendael colony had been exterminated by the Indians, because the Company, contrary to its engagement, had no sufficient force in the vicinity, Fort Nassau having been abandoned. The principal result of this controversy seems to have been that the States-General examined the nature of these grants of land, leading them to conclude that they were excessive and burdened with other objectionable features. As Director Minuit had countenanced and confirmed them, they further exercised their stipulated authority over the Governors in the service of the Company, by ordering his recall—a most unjust act, since the Director-General had no choice but to follow the provisions of a charter issued by his immediate principals and sanctioned by the States-General themselves. But perhaps there had been a too liberal interpretation of the privileges to be extended. Secretary de Ra-

sieres had already been dismissed a few years before, having fallen into disgrace on account of these same factions, as Governor Bradford writes, and now, early in the year 1632, Director Minuit accompanied by the Schout-fiscal, Lampe, embarked for Holland in the ship "Eendracht," or Union, and the administration of the first Director-General came to an end.

The connection of Peter Minuit with the history of American colonization did not cease with his Director-



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS—LION OF NORTH.

ship of New Netherland. Among the ambitious views entertained by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, was included a design of establishing a colonial empire in North America. When about the year 1624, William Usselinx left Holland, despairing of success in inducing the Dutch mer-

chants and statesmen to adopt his plans of West India trade, he proceeded to Sweden and succeeded in interesting the illustrious soldier in his schemes. Gustavus granted a charter to a "New South Company," which was modeled after the Dutch West India Company, and was to include participants both in Sweden and Germany. But the Protestant king's active part in the Thirty Year's War prevented Swedish operations in American waters. After his death in the battle of Lutzen in 1632 however, Chancellor Oxenstiern, under whom Sweden maintained the exalted position won by the "Lion of the North," prosecuted the King's ideas with regard to American trade and colonization, and under his auspices an expedition was sent out early in the year 1638 to establish a colony on the Delaware River. It was placed under the direction of Peter Minuit. A large tract of land was purchased from the Indians on the west side of the river, and defensive works at once begun, which were eventually designated by the name of Fort Christina. Having inaugurated this settlement and established an active trade in furs in defiance of Director Kieft's formal protests, Minuit returned to Europe, according to some authorities, while he is represented by others as "dying at his post" at Fort Christina in 1641.

Considering that the troubles arising out of the undue aggressiveness of the Patroons were the cause of

the removal of Peter Minuit, it appears strange that his successor should have been nearly allied, both by blood and marriage, to Patroon Van Rensselaer, the most energetic and persistent of them all in pressing his privileges. Probably the interference of the States-General in dismissing their chief officer in New Netherland produced a reaction in the counsels of the West India Company, and placed the influence of the Patroons once more in the ascendant. Thus was elevated to the position of Director-General of their North American Province Walter Van Twiller, one of



the clerks in the Company's offices on the Haarlem Street in Amsterdam. He is usually described as born at Nieuwerkerk, a village near Amsterdam. Some call him a cousin, others a nephew of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, but this confusion doubtless arises from the fact that in Dutch one word stands for both.

It seems that Walter Van Twiller had been in New Netherland some years before his appointment to office. He was sent as agent to select a territory for his relative's Patroonship, and for this purpose is supposed to have been here in 1629. It has also been stated that he remained for about a year, and was ordered to act as a kind of spy upon the Colonial

Government, it being due to his information that cause for dismissal was found against Minuit. But this conflicts again with the usually received opinion that precisely for serving too well the interests of Van Twiller's principals Minuit fell into disgrace. It is unfortunate that there are not in existence a greater number of official documents covering this period to elucidate these many points of obscurity in the determination of which we are now reduced chiefly to conjecture.

The undoubted connection of Walter Van Twiller with the history of New Netherland and of Manhattan Island begins with his arrival in the ship the *Salt-Mountain* in April, 1633, more than a twelve-month after the departure of Peter Minuit. He was accompanied by a force of one hundred and four soldiers. His Council of four was composed of Captain John Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andrew Hudde, and Jacques Bentyne. John Van Remund, who had succeeded De Rasieres as Secretary under Minuit, was retained in this office. But while De Rasieres had also performed the functions of a "Book-keeper of Wages," this part of the Secretary's duties was now assigned to a separate person and Cornelius Van Tienhoven was invested with the office. Conrad Notelman was appointed Schout or Sheriff.

Within the same month of the new Director-General's coming occurred two events of note. One was the ar-

rival of Captain De Vries on April 16. He was now an active partner in the Patroonship of Swanendael on the Delaware, and thus in close alliance with a number of the Directors of the West India Company; but the beginning of his relations with that Company had been neither pleasant nor profitable. As far back as 1624 there was lodged a complaint before the States-General against the West India Company on the part of a sea-captain and part owner of a vessel lying in the port of Hoorn and bound for New France. The West India Company had then newly entered upon its career of enterprise, and it

Comelis Van Tindhoof

imagined that here was an infringement of its charter privileges. Accordingly the captain was arrested at the instance of the Company by the Magistrates of Hoorn. But this resolute person was not to be so summarily disposed of. He at once served an attachment on the agents of the Company, who were thereby compelled to send for instructions to the Assembly of the XIX. The captain went beyond this body to a still higher authority, and sent a petition for redress to the States-General, the result being that the States-General sent a communication to the West India people, clearly showing that the vessel in question was not interfering with their rights, inasmuch as the

fisheries of Canada were distinctly under the jurisdiction of France, and that it was owned or chartered by French merchants; and at the same time their High Mightinesses took occasion to rebuke the Company for risking at the very commencement of its operations, a quarrel with a friendly power. This formidable sea-captain was David Pieters or David Pietersen, De Vries. He had gained a victory over the great West India Company, but the inevitable delay in sailing was fatal to the projected enterprise and it was necessarily abandoned, De Vries losing a large sum of money. When the Patroons consented to receive partners in the management and profits of colonies in America, the captain, instead of contributing capital, placed at the disposal of the patentees of Swanendael his skill and experience as a mariner and explorer. In February, 1632, he sailed with two ships to plant a colony on the Delaware, to succeed the one which the copartners had sent in 1630, but which had been massacred the preceding year. He succeeded in conciliating the Indians, but no one ventured to settle in the vicinity of the doomed plantation, and the whale-fishery also furnishing but an unsatisfactory return, De Vries sailed down the coast, paid a brief visit to Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, at Jamestown, and on April 16, 1633, arrived in New York Bay, to make the acquaintance of the new Director-General.



Two days later, as De Vries was at dinner with Van Twiller, an English ship passed in between the Narrows and came to anchor before the fort. A boat put off for the shore, and the vessel's errand was soon told. Her name was the *William*, sent out by a company of London merchants to carry on a trade in furs upon the "Hudson's River." There was significance, and indeed defiance, in that very name; therein lay hid a claim, which was also unsparingly asserted in so many words, that Hudson's nationality gave to England all the rights derived from his discovery. The person sent to communicate this mission and to assert these rights, in the present instance, was none other than Jacob Eelkens. Honorably identified as he had been with the beginning of the history of New Netherland, he appears now in a less favorable light. Shortly before the arrival of the ship *New Netherland* in 1623, with the first Walloon families, Eelkens had seized the person of Seguin, or Sequin, an Indian chief, on one of his trading expeditions, in the course of which he had penetrated to the vicinity of the Connecticut. He demanded an exorbitant ransom of over a hundred fathoms of wampum for the release of Seguin. As a consequence, the Indians of that region became suspicious of the Dutch, a long time intervened before confidence was restored, and the fur trade suffered greatly. Hence Eelkens, who had so long commanded at Fort

Nassau, was dismissed from the service of the West India Company before Fort Orange was substituted for the former. The English, coveting a foothold in the territories about the Hudson, were not slow to avail themselves of the undoubted capacity and experience possessed by the disgraced Indian trader, while they rightly counted on his disaffection towards his previous employers as an important element in securing their ends. He stoutly maintained the right of the *William* to proceed up the river, and quoted the ideas of his new masters in regard to the English title and proprietorship based on Hudson's exploration. Van Twiller with as much determination repudiated those claims, and refused permission to the *William* to proceed. The river was not the "Hudson's River," but the "Mauritius"; all the surrounding regions owed allegiance to no other potentate than their High Mightinesses and the Prince of Orange as their Stadholder. In practical support of that declaration the Commander-in-chief of Fort Amsterdam ordered the Orange colors, or the Orange, White, and Blue of the West India Company, to be unfurled from the flagstaff of the fort and three shots to be fired in honor of the prince. Eelkens was not at all overawed by this display of authority; returning to his ship, the English ensign was run to the masthead, and three shots in defiance of Van Twiller and in honor of King Charles boomed

over the water; while at the same time the *William* weighed her anchor and sailed rapidly up the river.

Were it not that the truthful De Vries has recorded the incident that follows, and of which he was himself a witness, it would be impossible to give it credence. Visions of Walter the Doubter enveloped in clouds of tobacco-smoke, and weighing in either hand the books containing disputed accounts in order to properly balance them, seem to rise up before us, and Irving's ludicrous caricature almost commends itself as the sober truth. Van Twiller's rage at seeing Eelkens and the *William* so insolently defying his authority was unbounded. He therefore called upon all loyal denizens of Fort Amsterdam to assemble before the walls of the fort on the river bank. Then ordering a cask of wine to be brought, he exhorted all those who loved the Prince and the Fatherland to drain a bumper to their glory. An appeal of this character to patriotism was not easily lost upon the large assemblage, and with their eyes upon the distant ship they enthusiastically drank to its confusion and to the success of the Prince of Orange. But this having no appreciable effect upon the *William*, De Vries suggested to the Director-General a more practical measure of restraint. The man of war which had conveyed Van Twiller to his seat of government was as yet in port, and a force of one hundred soldiers was at his command. Why not dispatch the

Salt-Mountain upon the errand of arrest? This obvious expedient dawned but slowly upon the dull mind of the Commander-in-Chief, for it was not till several days afterwards that an expedient was organized to carry out the project. This however, did not include the man-of-war; "a pinnace, a caravel, and a hoy," conveying a part of the troops, were sent up the river to arrest Eelkens and bring back the English ship. The former commissary had already established himself upon an island in the river near Fort Orange, and was trading successfully with the Indians. His previous intercourse with them was remembered, and his facility in dealing with them was now of great service to his English employers. The settlers at Fort Orange sought to interfere with his transactions, but they did so by beating the Indians who came to trade, instead of attacking Eelkens and his party. A large quantity of furs had already been collected when the soldiers arrived from Fort Amsterdam. They soon compelled Eelkens to desist, forced the English sailors to carry the peltries on board the *William*, and conveyed the latter to Manhattan Island. Here Eelkens was made to give up her cargo and, with his crew, was sent back empty-handed to England.

This incident only served to open afresh the dispute as to the title to New Netherland. The owners of the *William* complained to the English

Government of the treatment she had received, and a claim for damages was transmitted to Holland by the Dutch ambassadors, and referred by the States-General to the West India Company. The latter defended the title of the Republic and refuted by careful argument that of the English, the question of damages depending upon this alone. Yet the Company had ably performed this same fruitless task scarcely more than a year before, when the English had, on the strength of their claim to New Netherland, ventured upon a much more serious violation of international comity than that of which they now complained against the Dutch. The ship *Union*, conveying Director Minit to Holland, was driven by stress of weather to seek refuge in the harbor of Plymouth. She was at once seized upon by the English authorities as coming from a region covered by grants of the crown to English subjects. Minit hastened to London to inform the Dutch ambassadors of the outrage, and these appealed for redress directly to the King. Little sympathy was to be expected in such a quarter; insisting upon royal prerogative to his own ruin in England, Charles I. was not inclined to yield any part of his sovereignty over America. The matter was referred for decision to the Privy Council, with the result that the ministers but reiterated and emphasized a claim so frequently advanced before. But in anticipation

of this the Dutch ambassadors had urged upon the States-General the necessity of a clear statement of the Dutch title, which was accordingly prepared by the West India Company. Carefully reviewing the history of English colonization in America, this paper showed that there was no settlement by the English, nor any kind of occupation near the territories claimed, till 1620; while the Dutch had been trading without interruption from 1610 to the present year, and had built forts there. Again, coming to the question of grants, there had always been an extensive region between 38 degrees and 41 degrees north latitude, which had been distinctly left open, and New Netherland lay within these geographical limits. But lastly, and more conclusive than all, they advanced the argument "that inasmuch as the inhabitants of those countries [the Indians] are freemen, and neither his Britannic Majesty's nor your High Mightinesses' subjects, they are free to trade with whomsoever they please." They were for this reason also perfectly at liberty to sell their land as they had done to the Dutch and to convey title thereto by such sale. Further it was contended "that his Majesty may likewise in all justice grant his subjects by charter the right to trade with any people, to the exclusion of all others, his subjects, as your High Mightinesses have a right to do by yours. But that it is directly contrary to all right and reason for one potentate to prevent

the subjects of another to trade in countries whereof his people have not taken, nor obtained actual possession from the right owners, either by contract or purchase." It was contending however, with men who had decided to press their title against the Hollanders. The Union was indeed released, because Charles wished to provoke no foreign quarrels in the midst of his parliamentary contentions. But it was done unwillingly, and with the deliberate menace that the act of restoration was no warrant against similar interference in the future. And therefore the case of the William was vigorously pressed as a complaint against the Dutch. In addition to repeating former arguments, the West India Company sought to arrive at a practical and final solution of the question by the appointment of a commission to fix upon the exact boundaries between New England and New Netherland. In the expectation that this would be accomplished, they directed Van Twiller to buy large tracts of land on the Connecticut, for although this river had been discovered by a Dutchman, it was deemed safer now to fortify the title of discovery by one of purchase. Therefore, in compliance with the Company's orders, he sent an agent to the Connecticut River, in the course of the summer of 1633, to arrange a purchase of land from the Indian owners. A large tract situated about sixty miles from Long Island Sound, including the site of the

present city of Hartford was thus secured, and another at its mouth, called Kieviet's Hoeck by the Dutch and Saybrook Point by the English. A redoubt, to which was given the name of "Good Hope," was built near the site of Hartford, and the arms of the States-General affixed to a tree at Kieviet's Hoeck. But it seemed as if these honorable measures to secure formal possession only provoked the English colonists instead of acting as a restraint upon their encroachments.

From the relations so pleasantly established under Director Minuit, and on account of the debt of gratitude which they acknowledged they owed to Holland, it is surprising to find the New Plymouth people among the leaders in these aggressions upon Dutch territory in America. A small vessel of theirs having returned from a trading voyage to Manhattan shortly after the Connecticut purchases had been made, it was learned what had taken place. Governor Winslow and William Bradford at once proceeded to Boston to see what the two Colonies combined could do to circumvent the Dutch; proposing among other things to erect a trading-house upon the very land which the latter had purchased; but Governor Winthrop refused to engage in the scheme. He felt uncertain whether the patent of Massachusetts permitted an extension of trade to the Connecticut, and he knew that the territory had been conveyed by royal grant to the Earl

of Warwick. In view of this, while taking no active part against Van Twiller, he addressed a letter to him. "The King of England," the Puritan governor wrote, "had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects." A courteous reply was returned on the part of the Director, bidding the English colonists to forbear entering into disputes about territory, before the British and the



John Winthrop

Dutch Governments should arrive at some understanding regarding boundaries; and though no Puritan himself, he inculcated the Christian duty of living together "as good neighbors in these heathenish countries." The commentary of the Pilgrims of New Plymouth upon this exhortation was an immediate preparation for occupying the Dutch territories. A house was constructed and placed in sections

upon a large boat, and a number of men under the command of William Holmes were ordered to convey the boat to a position above Fort Good Hope. As the expedition passed the fort they were challenged by the Dutch garrison, and the two pieces of ordnance upon the walls were leveled against the intruders. The English kept on their way however, and the threat was not fulfilled, as it was forbidden to the West Indian Company to employ its forces against the representatives of a nation with whom the Republic was at peace. Van Twiller however, when he learned of the circumstance addressed a formal protest to Holmes, which was as little heeded as the challenge from the fort. The house was placed some miles above Good Hope, and thus was founded the town of Windsor, in Connecticut. The example of the Plymouth colonists was not lost upon those of Massachusetts, in spite of Governor Winthrop's previous self-restraint. An exploring party having reported upon the excellence of the territory about the Connecticut, families from Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester and Newtown, exhorted to the enterprise by sermons of their clergy, crossed the intervening wilderness and settled on the banks of the river. Later, John Winthrop, the governor's son, led a party to the mouth of the Connecticut, tore down the arms of the States-General at Kieviet's Hoeck, and founded Saybrook. Van Twiller was in a difficult situation;

he could not use force against Englishmen without danger of compromising the West India Company; yet these people were taking advantage of his helplessness, justifying their conduct on the ground of illegal grants, by a monarch who in other respects was already discredited in their eyes, deserving no obedience. The Director appealed to the Assembly of the XIX, and advised them to obtain permission from the States-General to employ their troops and ships against the English, but such permission was never transmitted to him, and doubtless was not even applied for. In view of all these circumstances therefore, one act of Van Twiller's stands out in strong contrast to whatever features of a less favorable kind may be discovered in his character. When, a few years later, the colony at Saybrook was massacred by the Pequods, and two English girls were carried away captives, the Director at once sent an expedition to recover them. By the promptness and address of the Dutch the captives were restored to their mourning countrymen.

Upon the side of the South River, or Delaware, Director Van Twiller was also annoyed by English aggression. A party from Virginia under George Holmes took possession of the abandoned Fort Nassau. But one of their number, Thomas Hall, an indentured servant of Holmes, took the opportunity to escape, and finding his way to Fort Amsterdam, conveyed

the news of this encroachment to the Colonial Government. Van Twiller sent an armed boat to the spot with a number of soldiers, who, meeting with no resistance, captured the whole party and brought them to Manhattan Island. Without further punishment the Director sent them back to Virginia in charge of De Vries, who had come on a second visit to New Netherland. But the names of George Holmes and Thomas Hall are found afterwards among the settlers on Manhattan, and they were, perhaps, with Augustine Herrman, the first to introduce there the cultivation of tobacco.

Thus, without omitting important details, a brief sketch has been given of the troubles with the English. But the question as to the Dutch title is one of importance here as elsewhere in New Netherland. Lawsuits involving important financial and real estate interests dependent upon that very question have been conducted within recent years, and may yet arise. The West India Company was frequently called on to enter into a defense of that title, and with equal persistence the English statesmen denied it. And still historians honestly differ on the subject and are apt to advance views colored by their predilections. It is indubitable that patents from the hand of English kings covered, or almost covered, the territory intervening between their northern and southern colonies. But simple discovery or mere grants could

not give title to a territory without occupation. What Queen Elizabeth maintained against Spanish claims: "*Præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat*," might have been urged with equal force by the Dutch against her successors. Prescription without occupation gave no valid claim. According to Vattel, a title given by discovery is "commonly respected, provided it was soon after followed by a real possession." Besides, in the patents both of James I. and Charles I., there was a distinct proviso which ought to have forever debarred their subjects from urging a claim to New Netherland. The New England charter of 1620 "contained an exception in favor of the possession of any Christian prince or State. The Hollanders in 1620 had the possession." Again the charter of 1629, incorporating the "governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," the original of which is preserved in the State House at Boston, contains this clause: "Provided, always, that if the said lands, etc., were, at the time of the granting of the said former letters patent, dated the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our said dear father's reign aforesaid (1620), actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state, that then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts or parcels thereof, so formerly inhabited." Why, then should there have been any question as to the title of the Dutch to New

Netherland? Reason, right and express provision supported them; the law of common sense, of specific charters, and of international usage were all on their side. English statesmen and churchmen such as Archbishop Laud, might blind themselves to questions of right or wrong in the pursuit of their ends, but such moral dialecticians as Calvinistic Puritans should have been more careful to avoid doing injustice to a neighbor. It is easy to appreciate the indignation of a Dutch historian of the present century, when he writes: "It might have been expected, in recognition of the Dutch hospitality which they had enjoyed in Leyden, Amsterdam, and other cities in Holland and Zeeland, during so long a period, they would have left the Dutch colonies in undisturbed possession. It is almost incredible that people so scrupulous in matters of conscience could have been so ungenerous towards their Dutch neighbors and brethren in the faith and paid so little regard to their previous occupation."

In the year 1622 the colony on the James River was devastated by an Indian massacre and an Indian war; in 1636 the Pequods fell upon the English settlers along the Connecticut, and a destructive war was waged against them by the Puritans. An Indian war was therefore a thing to be looked for in New Netherland. The treaty of Tawassgunshee stood as a perpetual and irrefragable barrier against such a calamity in the

section along the upper Hudson. By an ill-judged interference with a dispute between the Mohawks and the Mohicans a few Dutchmen under Kriekenbeeck had indeed lost their lives there, but it reflected no dishonor whatever upon the Mohawks, who were a party to the peace of 1618. The Indians near the mouth of the Hudson however, took no part in the council on the Tawasentha: indeed they were distinctly hostile to the nations who had entered into it. And the war that seemed inevitable at length began, in all the horrors that characterized it in other portions of the country, under the administration of Director Kieft. But the originating cause dated back sixteen years, and is to be traced to an incident that took place almost immediately after Peter Minuit's arrival, while occasional and isolated cases of trouble with the Indians marked also the period of Van Twiller's incumbency.

On Manhattan Island itself the colonists were not disturbed by any violent conduct on the part of the aborigines. The relations were as yet friendly. Yet it cannot be said that the newcomers had any reason to be very favorably impressed with their savage neighbors. They found them to be exceedingly troublesome owing to their habitual thievishness. As with the Spartans of old, it was deemed by them rather honorable than otherwise to be adepts at theft. All endeavors to improve their con-

dition either in body, mind, or soul were met by a stolid indifference and a real or assumed stupidity that were perfectly impenetrable." They were "strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as posts." This is the record of an eye-witness, Michaelius, with no theories of Indian depravity to uphold, who was deeply solicitous for their good and labored to instruct them in heavenly things. He found it of no avail however, and at last confined his attention principally to the children. Yet he saw that these could only be permanently benefited by separation from their parents and other savage associates—a thing which proved impracticable by reason of the chief redeeming trait of the Indian nature—an extreme fondness for their children. "The parents are never contented, but take them away stealthily or induce them to run away themselves." Nor was there much chance of progress in the cordiality or thoroughness of the intercourse between the European settlers and the Indians, for the latter studiously prevented the Dutch from learning their language. This was difficult enough in itself, but the intelligent observer whose words are quoted was of the opinion "that they rather design to conceal their language from us than to properly communicate it, except in things which happen in daily trade; saying it is sufficient for us to understand them in those; and then they speak only half their reasons, with shortened

words; so that even those who can best of all speak with the Indians, and get along well in trade, are nevertheless wholly in the dark and bewildered when they hear the Indians speaking with each other." Such a course did not promise well for an increase of friendliness, and would only embitter whatever causes of mutual dissatisfaction might arise between the races brought into such close proximity. The forbodings of war were present even in the period of peace.

The tide in the affairs of the West India Company was still leading on to fortune when Director Van Twiller was sent to govern in its name in New Netherland, and hence he was given unlimited authority in the matter of public improvements. Fort Amsterdam not having been completed up to the time of his arrival the work was now pushed with vigor, so that in 1635 the structure was finished. It formed a quadrangle about three hundred feet long by two hundred and fifty wide and occupied the ground bounded by the present Bowling Green and Whitehall, Stone and State streets. Though it is recorded that "mountain-stone," *i. e.*, quarry stone, was used in the construction of the walls, it is more than likely that this referred only to the four angles, which were salient while the intermediate curtains were banks of earth. A barracks for the newly

arrived soldiers was built within the walls on the west side, while on the opposite or east arose the governor's mansion, and next to this, to the south, the church was erected in Kieft's time. The principal gate faced to the north, opening upon the Bowling Green and was guarded by a small redoubt called a horn, which may therefore have stood upon the very spot of the present circular park. The expenses of completion, aside from what the structure may have cost before, are placed at over four thousand guilders.

A more modest expenditure, with

Everhard Bogardus
Manasat

EVERARDUS BOGARDUS.

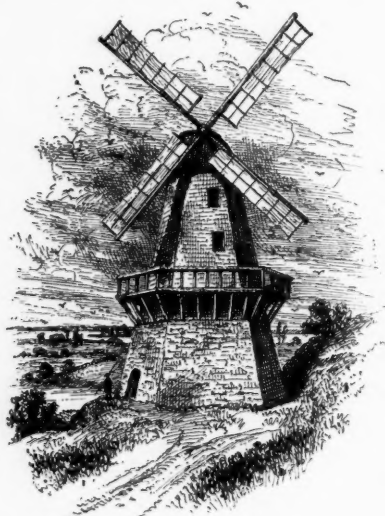
results correspondingly humble, was made for the erection of a place of worship. In the same ship with Director Van Twiller arrived the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, who, until the discovery of the Michaelius letter in 1858, was believed to have been the first clergyman settled on Manhattan Island. We now know that he was preceded for a period of five years by the author of that interesting document. Yet, even before the arrival of Michaelius, there had come over from the fatherland in the ship with Minuit two persons of a semi-clerical character, Sebastian Jansen Krol or

Crol, and John Huyghen, who, as lay readers, were to supply the place of a regular pastor temporarily. These, in the Dutch ecclesiastical system, were called "*Krankenbezoekers*," or visitors (not consolers) of the sick. In the loft above the horsemill they led the singing of the congregation, read the creed, the Scriptures, and perhaps occasionally a printed homily. When Michaelius came in 1628 the horsemill still remained in requisition, but now something like regular church government began. Sebastian Crol had been transferred to Fort Orange to act as commissary, but John Huyghen remained and was made elder, while the director himself, who had been a deacon in Wesel, was promoted to the eldership. The first "*Consistory*" being thus constituted it was possible to hold a communion-service, at which fifty persons partook of the sacrament. Domine Michaelius preached to the people, the majority of whom were Walloons and French refugees, in the Dutch language, "which few among them could not understand," he writes; yet as an amiable concession to those few, knowing how much more precious religious truth is when expressed in the mother-tongue, he preached occasionally in French with a written sermon before him as he was unable to extemporize in a foreign language. It is not known how long Michaelius had been gone when Bogardus came, but the same rude loft served for the latter's ministrations in the be-

ginning. Before the year 1633 was past, however, a separate church building had been erected, and also a parsonage. The church was a very plain structure, which De Vries characterized nine years later as a "mean barn," compared with the churches he had seen in New England. It stood in Broad street, at the junction of Pearl and Bridge—and the space of an ordinary lot separating the two streets it is easy to identify the exact location; the parsonage being at some distance from it and situated on Whitehall street, near Bridge, facing the eastern wall of the fort. Although a more worthy successor to the first church edifice was built within the fort in 1642, the "Old Church" was not sold till 1656 and it was used for business purposes for a century later.

In the same ship with Domine Bogardus came also the first schoolmaster, Adam Roelandsen. Some writers make merry over the fact that, failing in his vocation, "he took in washing." Whether he failed in his calling as teacher we do not know, but that he took in washing was no necessary indication of this, nor was it an incongruous or unmanly vocation among the Dutch. The custom then, as now, was to accumulate articles in household use for six months or more, and then send to the laundries or "*Bleeckeryen*" (bleacheries), which were conducted entirely by men and were very extensive establishments. The great stores of linen

that went as a dowry with every daughter of a well-to-do family are explained by this prevalent usage, for such were necessary if the wash was attended to every half year instead of every Monday. Roelandsen may have superintended or owned such an establishment and could have managed this with a sufficient number of hands at the same time



A DUTCH WINDMILL.

that he attended to the duties of a teacher.

Meanwhile diligent attention had been given to the development of the resources of Manhattan Island. Very soon after its purchase a large portion was systematically marked off into six separate farms, or bouweries, which were called the Company's

and designated by numbers. Numbers one, three and five lay on the west side, and two, four and six on the east side. A tract of land extending to Wall street was known as the Company's garden; beyond this stretched farm number one as far as Hudson street. Number two was situated east of Broadway, number three occupied the site of the subsequent village of Greenwich, while number four included the "plain of Manhattan," later the Commons and the City Hall Park. Minuit had made some experiments in agriculture, notably with canary seed, a sample of which was sent to Holland in the Arms of Amsterdam. But with Van Twiller began the cultivation of tobacco, which proved a great success, so that the New Netherland product was much sought after in Holland and obtained as satisfactory prices as that from Virginia. It was the introduction of this culture by George Holmes which so far atoned for his leading a party to encroach on the Delaware, that in consideration of their valuable experience he and his runaway servant, Thomas Hall, were given grants of land on Manhattan, and both became reputable freeholders occupying prominent places in early colonial history. The increasing products of the soil necessitated the erection of mills. Minuit's horsemill was supplemented by wind-mills during his time, especially for sawing purposes, when he was building his great ship. A sawmill

was erected on Nooten or Governor's Island by Van Twiller; a mill stood on the southeast bastion of the fort, and one on the high ground of farm number one, just above the rise which lifts Broadway above the level of Bowling Green. Trade also made considerable strides during the earlier years of Van Twiller's term; the Patroon charter was modified so that the fur trade was less jealously restricted. As a consequence official records show that in 1633 there were exported 8,800 beaver-skins and 1383 otter-skins, yielding 91,375 florins (\$36,550), the exports in 1635 reached the large number of 14,891 beavers and 1413 otters, selling for 134,925 florins (\$53,770). And Manhattan Island or Fort Amsterdam, received a great advantage from this trade, for it was made the beneficiary of a system that was simply a revival of a custom of feudalism, namely, the privilege of "staple-right." When Count Dirk seated himself at Dordrecht and thus initiated the history of Holland, he exacted the payment of a toll from all vessels going past his town, up or down the numerous branches of the Maas, at whose confluence Dordrecht was situated. Those who refused or were unable to pay this, were compelled to discharge their cargoes, piling them in heaps ("stapelen") upon the shore in order to dispose of them by sale. The latter proving often more convenient or profitable, the traders along the river learned to congregate at Dordrecht as a market

and the commercial prosperity of the Count's capital became assured. This "stapel-recht" or staple-right was now extended to Manhattan Island, the trade carried on in all the surrounding regions and along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, being thus made to contribute towards the advancement of the prosperity of the Company's Colony around Fort Amsterdam. Yet in spite of this the expectations of the West India Company with regard to their American province were disappointed. The blame was thrown mainly on its climate, which was, indeed, rather inconsistent. For although situated in a latitude which would warrant a temperature such as made France and Spain the home of the luxurious vine and of fruits such as the peach and apricot and orange, there was not the remotest reproduction of such conditions in New Netherland. It was even colder there at times than on the bleak plains of the United Provinces themselves. "For this reason then," the Assembly of XIX assured the States-General in June, 1653, "the people conveyed thither by us have as yet been able to discover only scanty means of subsistence and have been no advantage, but a drawback to the Company. The trade there in peltries is indeed very profitable, but one year with another only fifty thousand guilders [\$20,000] at most can be brought home." A paltry sum this, by the side of the five millions of dollars

which Admiral Heyn "brought home" as the result of a few months' cruise!

Four years of Van Twiller's administration had not given the company any reason to change their opinion regarding the unprofitableness of New Netherland as a commercial venture. And although this was a shorter term than that of any of the other directors, it was resolved in 1637 to recall him. There appeared

share in the councils of the colonial government. There is reason to believe that Michaelius was thus situated, and with the director an elder in his church, and a person entirely fitted for such a position, there was perfect harmony. Unfortunately both minister and director were of quite different temperaments under the next administration. From some cause, probably originating in the council, a contention arose and in the course of it exceedingly bitter language was exchanged. From all that appears in the conduct of Domine Bogardus subsequently, he was a person of a violent temper and enemies accused him of too great fondness for wine. In this respect Van Twiller was more than his match, and it seems to be no injustice to him to conclude that his morality was none of the purest. So fierce became the unhappy controversy between these prominent persons that it was made a basis of complaint against the director in Holland. Other evidences of personal unfitness for his position accumulated as time went on. The pages of De Vries' volume contain many accounts of drunken quarrels, originating in orgies which the director either himself promoted, or in which at least he took part. It was inevitable that his administration of the colony's affairs should be unfavorably affected, much to the injury of the interests of the West India Company. And to make matters still worse, while the company's farms yielded



CHURCH AT FLATLANDS.

to be good cause for adopting this measure, for he had not developed very acceptable characteristics as the governor of a Province. About a year after Van Twiller's arrival there occurred a quarrel between him and Domine Bogardus. In the early days of the colony, when but few men of standing or education could be found willing to cross the Atlantic, the clergyman, it would seem, was given a

no satisfactory returns, on the other hand those which had come into the possession of Van Twiller and his partners were signally prosperous. These men, evidently profiting by their advantageous situation as the agents of the company, had liberally provided themselves with extensive grants of land in the vicinity of Manhattan Island. The director secured for himself the island of Pagganck or Nut Island, since called Governor's from this very circumstance; while several islands in the Hell-gate, now East River, were also added to his estates. In 1636 Van Twiller, with Andrew Hudde, one of the council, Wolfert Gerritsen, probably a brother or other near relative of Councilor Martin Gerritsen, and Jacob Van Corlaer or Curler, the trumpeter, obtained possession of a tract of fifteen thousand acres in extent, including the present town of Flatlands on Long Island. It was soon after called New Amersfoort by another settler who had come from that historic town situated in the province of Utrecht and distinguished as having been the birthplace of Barneveld. The grant, although the title was secured from the Indians by purchase, was not made valid by the endorsement of the company, who were not even notified of it. These irregularities of personal and official conduct at last provoked the opposition of the most respectable member of colonial government, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who had succeeded Conrad Notel-

man as schout-fiscal and who was possessed of legal training. But his protest only drew down the wrath of Van Twiller upon his head; he was deprived of his salary, in arrears for some time, and finally dismissed and sent back to Holland. This last proceeding on the part of the director, however, was suicidal to his official career, for the capable schout at once lodged a complaint against his superior before the States-General. On being referred to the Assembly of the XIX it was at first quietly ignored, but the complaint was too well supported by documentary and other evidence to be disposed of in this manner. Dincklagen importuned the States-General for a settlement of his claims, and the West India Company were summoned to refute his charges. As this could not be done they were forced to dismiss their unworthy officer from the directorship of New Netherland. The records of the States-General indicate that the directors had promptly sent their letter of recall, for on September 2, 1637, application was made to confirm the appointment and sign the commission of his successor, William Kieft.

Thus ended the administration of Walter Van Twiller, but, unaffected by the disgrace of his removal, he remained in the province for many years afterwards. With a cynical disregard of men's opinion as to the manner of their acquisition he devoted himself to the task of improv-

ing his extensive lands and to the renting of his herds of cattle, which were in a flourishing condition and numerous, while the occupants of the company's farms found them sadly deficient in stock. After Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's death, Van Twiller appears as one of the trustees or guardians of his sons during their minority; but there is no record of his return to Holland, although it is known that he died in his native land during the winter of 1656-57. Taking into consideration the perplexing circumstances in which the encroachments of the English on the Connecticut placed him, his failure to dislodge them is not greatly to his discredit. When they defied his protests and were prepared to resist a resort to force, the provisions of the company's charter forbade his employment of violent measures against the subjects of a friendly power. The attempt of the Virginians on the Delaware was only frustrated because they had the decency to desist when a serious effort was made to remove them from territory upon which they

knew they were trespassing. Van Twiller's policy towards the Indians was firm and vigorous; his conclusion of a peace with the Raritans is to be highly commended and he certainly showed no cowardice in his dealings with the Pequods. Indeed, in consideration of the risks involved and actual war provoked, by his firm attitude towards this tribe in the matter of the redemption of the two English girls and his punishment of them for the murder of Captain Stone, Van Twiller's noble return of good for evil ought never to be forgotten, and reflects the more discredit upon those whom he thus generously treated. It is as one turns from these external relations to his public functions and private character at home that his undignified conduct and the cupidity which led him to take advantage of his official position for private ends make Director Walter Van Twiller appear in a reprehensible light. These have not unjustly caused his name to appear in history clouded with dishonor.



THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS BY THE PILGRIMS.

THE persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans is a theme which has been treated from widely different standpoints. It is not denied that extreme measures were resorted to, but the controversy has been chiefly over the matter of justification. As it is our purpose to consider the attitude of the Pilgrims towards this "peculiar people," it seems desirable to emphasize at the outset the marked differences between the settlers of Plymouth and Boston.

The two colonies were about forty miles distant from each other and intercourse between them in early years was almost entirely by water. The Pilgrim settlement dates from 1620, the Puritan from 1628, and these two settlements remained independent and distinct until their union under the Province charter in 1691.

The Pilgrims were separatists, the Puritans non-conformists; that is to say the former had taken themselves completely out of the Church of England and had established a church founded on the idea of brotherhood or genuine democratic equality. The latter were dissenters. They still belonged to the English church, and they contemplated the establishment

of the same church here but without the wrongs and abuses.

The Pilgrims were men of mild manners, of simple tastes and, with a few exceptions, of little education. Their extraction was generally humble. The Puritans came from more noted stock and their leaders (who were of course the clergymen) were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge, more often of the latter. It was natural therefore, that one of their early concerns should be the establishment of an institution of learning. The average Puritan was dictatorial, opinionated, intolerant and obtrusive.

The Pilgrims expanded slowly, a fact partly due to the lack of a progressive spirit, and partly also to their unfortunate location and to the sterility of the soil. The Puritans increased with great rapidity. At Boston there were the marks of progress and prosperity; at Plymouth only the signs of gradual growth. At the time of their union in 1691 the younger colony was several times larger than the older.

In their origin and charter privileges the two colonies were radically different. The following is an epitome of the genesis of the govern-

ments at Plymouth and Boston, and their respective conditions until 1691. In 1606 James I. granted a charter to two companies to settle Virginia, the name by which this whole country was then known. The Pilgrims had a charter from the southern of these two companies and, arriving at Cape Cod, beyond the limits of that country, they found their charter of no avail and drew up and signed a "compact" in the cabin of the Mayflower Nov. 17, 1620. At about this time "The Great Patent of New England" was given by James I. to the council at Plymouth, England, for the planting etc. of New England. A charter was granted by this council to William Bradford and his associates in 1629. This granted the soil but not powers of government. The Pilgrims never had a royal grant. However they assumed autonomy, having a governor etc. and maintained a General Court. The Great Patent was surrendered to Charles I. in 1635, so that the "compact" was the real constitution while the colony lasted. The Puritans on the other hand, obtained in March 1629, from the Great Council a grant of territory which on March 4, 1630 was confirmed by letters-patent from Charles I. Under this charter liberal powers were also granted, and independence was enjoyed for more than half a century. The two governments differed in the exercise of their autonomy. Says Brooks Adams in the *Emancipation of Massachusetts*,

"It has been taught as an axiom of Massachusetts history that from the outset the town was the social and political unit, but an analysis of the evidence tends to show that the organization of the Puritan Commonwealth was ecclesiastical, and the congregation, not the town, the basis upon which the fabric rested." In 1631 a law was passed at Boston that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." While this narrow enactment remained in force for many years, the more liberal rule obtained at Plymouth of freedom in the exercise of the suffrage, an exception prevailing in the case of those of bad characters and evil designs. And now after the lapse of more than two centuries we see how the Pilgrim idea has become the basis of our free institutions.

This liberality among the Pilgrims in civil matters may have been the outcome of their independence in their religious organization. The first church at Plymouth was built on the rock of Independent Congregationalism. The Puritans adhering on their arrival to the Church of England looked with little favor on the Separatists, but it has been pointed out (and very clearly by Dr. Tarbox in a paper read before the Old Colony Historical Society, April 30, 1878) that the Puritans adopted the example of their neighbors in

the establishment of their first church at Salem, and although there was in the beginning vigorous dissent from certain Puritan quarters, congregationalism became the established form of religious government in the Puritan Commonwealth.

It is proposed to largely treat the subject of this article by citing examples, and it is needless to observe that the years covered are identical with those which witnessed the persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans. On October 14th, 1656, the General Court at Boston enacted the first of a series of laws against the Quakers. It was formally declared in the streets of Boston by beat of drum. Nicholas Upsall, a church member and freeman since 1631, the proprietor of the Red Lyon Inn, said on hearing the act read before his own door, "that he did look at it as a sad forerunner of some heavy judgment to fall on the country." He was fined and driven out of the colony. He went to Sandwich and was kindly received. The Governor of Plymouth issued a warrant forbidding the people of Sandwich to entertain him. He remained there during the winter and in the spring was sent into Rhode Island.

In 1657 John Copeland and Christopher Holder visited Martha's Vineyard and were ordered away. They went to Sandwich and were warmly received by some, although their coming was distasteful to others. They soon went to Plymouth where they

were arrested, taken before the magistrates and discharged with the order "to be gone out of their colony." On the following morning they left for Sandwich, were overtaken, arrested, taken back to Plymouth, examined and "required to depart." They returned to Sandwich. To satisfy the clergymen there, the Governor issued a warrant for their arrest. It begins, "Whereas, there hath been two extravagant persons, professing themselves to be Quakers," etc., and concludes by ordering the under-marshal to convey said persons "unto the utmost bounds of our jurisdiction." He so conveyed them fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, and then set them at liberty. They soon reached their destination.

In the same year the Commissioners of the United Colonies sent a communication to the Governor of Rhode Island, requesting him to banish Quakers. The General Assembly replied in the following year, stating that freedom of different consciences was the principal ground of their charter.

In the same year Humphrey Norton was engaged in religious exercises, especially in Sandwich. A warrant was issued; he was arrested and taken to Plymouth. After being detained some time he was taken before the magistrates. He engaged in a theological discussion with the Governor, and was finally banished to Rhode Island.

In the same year, eleventh month,

William Brend and John Copeland, the latter of whom had been but a few weeks before banished from Boston, set out on a visit to Plymouth. They first went to Scituate (now Pembroke) where they met with Sarah Gibbons, who had lately come from New Netherlands. James Cudworth and Timothy Hatherly, magistrates, gave them a cordial reception. Officers were dispatched from Plymouth to arrest the Friends, but Hatherly refused to permit the arrest to take place. On the departure of Brend and Copeland, Hatherly furnished them with the following pass:

"These are, therefore, to any that may interrupt these two men in their passage, that ye let them pass quietly on their way, they offering no wrong to any."

TIMOTHY HATHERLY.

They started for Rhode Island and Connecticut, passing through Plymouth where they were arrested and asked to enter into an engagement to leave within twenty-four hours. They replied that they were intending to proceed elsewhere but that they felt restrained from making a promise so to do. This being construed as perverseness, they were sentenced to a severe scourging.

In 1658, Humphrey Norton accompanied by John Rous, proposed to go to Plymouth to plead with the authorities on account of their treatment of Friends. They arrived fourth month, first day, Norton having previously forwarded an account of the

sufferings which his fellow-professors had endured in that settlement, with some remarks upon them. They were arrested and imprisoned. Two days after they were brought before the court and questioned as to their motives in coming. Norton referred to the paper he had forwarded. The Governor would not admit that he had received it. Then Rous claimed that as a free-born Englishman he had an undoubted right to visit any part of the British dominions. They were re-committed. The Plymouth records charge them with having acted turbulently.

Two days after, they were brought before the court and charged with heresy by one of the citizens. They desired a public discussion but were remanded. Their accuser visited them, and it was reported to the court that there was "very little difference betwixt what Winter affirmed and the said Humphrey Norton owned." Being again brought before the court, Norton asked to read a paper he had written explaining their coming. The Governor employed severe language. Norton replied, "Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet." The oath of allegiance was next tendered and refused. Then the magistrates ordered them to be flogged. Three of the inhabitants who showed sympathy for them were placed in the stocks. Norton received twenty-three and Rous fifteen lashes. After a further imprisonment of a few days

they were released, and went to Rhode Island.

In the fourth month, 1658, Christopher Holder and John Copeland visited Sandwich. They attended a little Friend's meeting on the 23d. They were arrested by the marshal whose orders were to banish all such without delay and, if any such returned "the select men appointed for that purpose were to see them whipped." Upon their refusing to go the "select men" declined to act. The marshal thereupon carried them to a magistrate, two miles distant, who after an examination ordered them to be tied to the post of an out-house and gave each of them thirty-three lashes. On the following day they were taken back to Sandwich, whence they were carried towards Rhode Island and liberated.

In 1657 and 1658, the Friends at Sandwich suffered greatly from fines imposed and distrains to satisfy them, and two of the Friends were imprisoned for five months. There does not seem to have been any resort to violence.

In fourth month, 1659, Peter Pearson and William Leddra were imprisoned at Plymouth. The following is the concluding portion of a letter written by the former "in Plymouth prison in New England, the 6th of the tenth month, 1659." "At the end of two day's journey we came to a town therein called Sandwich, and the day following had a pretty peaceable meeting and it was with us, if

we did escape apprehension in this colony, to have traveled into Boston's jurisdiction; but in the second meeting that we had at Sandwich we were apprehended, and had before the governor and magistrates, and by them committed to this prison, where we have remained five months and upward." Their imprisonment lasted about ten months.

The harassing of Friends in Sandwich by fines and distrains continued into the year 1659, and Thomas Ewer for reproving his persecutors was "laid neck and heels together." See *New England Judged* p. 148.

It was natural that the Pilgrims like the Puritans should resort to repressive legislation. The first law was passed by the General Court at Plymouth in 1657 and other enactments followed for several successive years, but they were not of long duration and were probably not always enforced with rigorous exactness. They imposed penalties upon those who brought Quakers into the colony if they did not return them, also on those who entertained them, deprived them of freedom and franchise, provided for the seizure of their books, declared that no fine should be exacted from such of them as should leave the colony within six months, provided for their being committed to jail and also whipped if they refused to depart. There were also laws that no person should furnish them with a horse and that their own horses were to be seized; every inhabitant was

authorized to apprehend them, and certain persons were allowed to attend their meetings to reclaim them.

The above recital is sufficient to dispel all doubts as to the attitude of the Pilgrims towards the Quakers. In January, 1866, Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London, read at the Friends' Institute in that city a paper entitled, "The Pilgrim Fathers, neither Puritans nor Persecutors." His chief concern seems to have been to point out the distinction between the settlers of Plymouth and Boston, and his brief vindication of the Pilgrims from the charge of persecution is far from conclusive.

It is fair to assert that while the Quakers were persecuted to some extent by the Pilgrims, they were not treated with that severity which characterized the action of the Puritans in Boston. The following, it is believed, are some of the reasons, several of which are cited at the beginning of this paper:

I. Those in authority at Plymouth from 1657 to 1661, probably inherited something of the gentleness of the original settlers. They were naturally fairer and more tolerant than their neighbors at Boston.

II. As the Pilgrims and their immediate descendants never had a

royal grant, it was natural that they should fear the displeasure of the English government.

III. As the Pilgrims expanded slowly they probably regarded with comparatively little aversion the advent of strangers.

IV. The general participation of all the citizens at Plymouth in the exercise of civil rights, irrespective of church membership, was favorable to the clement treatment of strangers.

V. What persecution there was, was largely due to the desire to be in accord with the more powerful government at Boston. In several cases the Puritan authorities communicated with their neighbors at Plymouth; and it is a fact that the first Quakers who visited the Plymouth Colony entered the country through Boston and not New Amsterdam.

VI. While the records prove the main contention of this article, the details of punishment and persecution are found chiefly on the pages of Quaker writers. No one doubts the sincerity and fairness of the Quakers, but the narrations may be occasionally exaggerated as the most impartial are susceptible to some prejudice in the treatment of their own kind and kindred.

GEO. FOX TUCKER.

HISTORIC ELEMENTS IN VIRGINIA EDUCATION AND LITERARY EFFORT.*

The key-note to Virginia's intellectual past, and consequently to her after development, lies in large measure in what science teaches is true of individuals—and, as we might infer also, of a collection of individuals like the State, namely, the principles of heredity and environment. What is the origin of Virginia's people? What are the sources of her various race-elements? and how has the further history or evolution, if you prefer, of these elements been affected and modified by climatic conditions, by geographical divisions, by the physical contour of the land, by peculiarities of soil—nay, further, by traditions and customs and habits—that manifestation of a man's self and a nation's existence from which neither ever seems to break completely away.

Cast a glance upon the map of Virginia, and note the divisions of today, politically, materially and industrially, so varied and diverse. Five divisions will indicate roughly these differences; 1. The Tide-Water, including the parts contiguous to the navigable streams; 2. The South-Side; 3. The Valley; 4. The South-

west; and 5. (I shall add for our present purposes) West Virginia. These geographical divisions, apparently made for convenience, in reality affect deeply the inner history of the State, and were originally the settling places of peoples—however commingled later—of different origins, governed by different principles and affected by different interests. Four race elements are important enough in the history of Virginia's culture to bear distinction. The English, the Scotch-Irish, the German, and the French Huguenot. The African negro would constitute a fifth.

The first settlers were the English. Coming over at the instigation of the Virginia Company in London, their objects were very similar to the later East Indian and Southern and Central African Companies; to found a colony, to establish plantations, to engage in trade with the natives, to extract from a fresh soil its mineral and agricultural wealth, to amass fortunes and possibly to achieve fame.

It needs little discernment and slight study of the map of the new world to note how admirably just this part of the entire American coast was adapted to their purposes. Stretched

*A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society, December 21, 1891.

before them lay the beautiful Chesapeake Bay. Into this flows fairly parallel the great rivers of the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the York, with its confluent, the Mattapony and the Pamunkey; the James and its tributaries, the Chickahominy and the Appomattox, forming fertile and pleasing peninsulas and presenting a perfect tracery and net-work of navigable waters—great highways for commerce and communication. The Bay itself and the Ocean create still another great peninsula, that of the "Eastern Shore." From these sections these pioneers spread slowly to the north and west and south, following, in the main, the courses of the larger streams.

It is a most striking illustration how the topography and physical features of a land determine its history, its social, political, and particularly its economical and intellectual development. Sufficient labor was naturally difficult to obtain, and the demand grew still greater, as the tobacco crop became the staple of produce and the plantations encroached on the forest domain. Economical conditions create history; and a dozen years after the colony had been planted, the first ship-load of African slaves was introduced. The social scale was lengthened at both ends. Plantations became more princely, as hundreds of servants were added as laborers and domestics. The English manorial estate, controlling the surrounding acres, leading in the vestry

meeting of the neighboring church, was the model upon which the Virginian's life and government was patterned. Physical geography produced also here its effects. The scattered homes and estates, extending irregularly along the courses of rivers, necessitated the division into counties of irregular shape and unequal extent; and these counties were accepted as the unit of society and the basis of representation in the government. The contrast with New England already accentuated by certain differences in people, in altitude, in thought, was here complete. The colonists in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for reasons both natural and social, dwelt in compact communities, living close together and knit by common interests. It is unprofitable to discuss the advantages of the one form of government as compared with the other, to praise the one as containing germs of liberty which the other does not possess. Nature and climate and mode of life imposed the one upon New England and the other upon Virginia. In both colonies we find local self-government and individual liberty, alike dear and near to an English-speaking people.

True Englishmen these Virginians remain. There is still manifest throughout the Englishman's love of out-door pleasure, of an open air existence, of a life filled with excitement and adventure. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler in his *History of American Literature* (vol. I, p. 92) states: "These

constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen, loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and by and by, here and there, perhaps after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class and almost no literature." These were, at least, the conditions which produced "militia heroes" like Washington and Lee; "fiery orators" like Patrick Henry and Randolph of Roanoke; "astute and imperious politicians" like Jefferson and Madison; "country-gentlemen" like Wythe and Mason and John Marshall.

The second-race element, entering into the make up of Virginia's culture, is the Scotch-Irish. One hundred and thirty years after the tide-water was settled, the valley received this stream of immigration. The situation of the original home of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia was typical of the spreading of the race itself to the four quarters. Their settlements extended along the headwaters of streams flowing in all directions—some northwards with the Shenandoah to empty into the Potomac; others eastward into the James or more southerly into the Roanoke; others southerly and westward into the Holston, and thus into the Tennessee, and still others into the Greenbrier and the Kanawha and thence down the Ohio. That descendants still retain that love of external scen-

ery inborn in their ancestry is one of the curious problems which science attempts to explain. Whether we view the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania or Virginia, in North or South Carolina, in Tennessee or Kentucky, they have fairly well followed the Appalachian range and its offshoots and the courses of its streams, the highlands and the Piedmont section ever remaining that portion where their genius seems to flower at fullest perfection.

These people added to the character of the colony a much needed Puritan element—stern, serious-minded, burdened with consciences, somewhat severe in their aspects of life and in their relations with the world, but in their very nature earnest, law-abiding, upright, staunch, honest patriots, filled with a love of liberty inherited from generations of Scotch covenanters.

The German element seems at first sight not to have been so pronounced as might have been expected from their early contact. This is due in large measure to their natural conservatism, their contentment, clustering by themselves, to lead simple, thrifty and comparatively secluded lives. In reality the geography of the State has been deeply affected, as the abundance of post-offices, bearing German appellations testify, and a study of the catalogues of the valley and westernly institutions reveal a constantly marked increase in students whose names show them to be

descended from these eighteenth century pioneers. William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States and author of the first Life of Patrick Henry, Conrad and Shefey, Kemper and Koiner, are among the prominent representatives of this race.

The French element in Virginia has been not so large, but marked in capacity and distinct in quality, settling along the upper waters of the James on the border of Goochland and Powhatan, this original handful of Huguenots became distributed here and there in all sections of the State, particularly along the James and the Appomattox, the south side receiving possibly the larger share. Maury, Marye, Maupin, Michaux, Legrand, Fontaine, Flownoy, Dupuy, Dabney, are but a few among many Virginian family names from this source.

I have just alluded to the south side and its French elements. Half way between the tide-water and the mountains of the Blue Ridge, the southern section of Virginia received an admixture of both English and Scotch-Irish. A further commingling with the French Huguenots intensified the Presbyterian influence. Add to this the labors of Samuel Davies and other missionary evangelists, and we have the causes which gave rise to Hampden-Sidney College in Prince Edward. If any point is clear in the educational history of Virginia, it is the fact that her early institutions in their origin are not so much the crea-

tures of denomination, as the result of traditions of *race* and *place*. They sprang from local needs, were supported by local patronage, and only by degrees, for especial reasons and in exceptional cases, did they become institutions for a whole land. Only three of these belong to the first half century of our national existence (1775-1825): The College of William and Mary for the tide-water section; Hampden-Sidney College for the south side; and Washington College for the valley.

The College of William and Mary was the offspring of the genius of the English race in Northern and Eastern Virginia. The objects asserted were: "To the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians to the glory of Almighty God." There is about this the true and unmistakable English ring.

It was a college for both Church and State, because Church and State were then one. In the chapel could assemble, with equal propriety, a band of college youths, a convention of the Church, a body of legislators. But the influences were still stronger. Williamsburg was not only the educational and religious centre of the English colony, it was the seat of the colonial Governors, men who, imitating the state and ceremony of the

Court of St. James, introduced style, fashion, luxury, social grace, in short, a world's culture. Here were the sessions of the House of Burgesses, comprising the most prominent and active men in the colony; here were the law courts; and later the seat of the chancellor and the school for law. No wonder these young Virginians became natural leaders. They received their training besides, in their homes, among domestics, in the fields, on the plantations, in church matters as vestrymen, as justices and in the county courts, and finally in the capital at Williamsburg as members of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council. Perhaps such an atmosphere was not too favorable for the production of preachers, if that had been the hopes of the founders of William and Mary. The genius of this people lay no more in that direction than in philology and mathematics, or even in literature, though none of these branches were neglected in a way—but their genius in state-craft was consummate. They became students of law, of politics, of government; and it was the teachers in these departments, George Wythe, the Chancellor, and his successors, who inspired and captivated the youth of the time. And later, towards the middle of the century, when Abolition and Territorial Sovereignty and States' Rights were the great issues involved, President Thomas R. Dew and Professor Beverly Tucker were still upholding the genius of the

race and institution among youth nurtured in the same traditions. Mr. Jefferson had to send abroad for Professors in Latin and Greek, Mathematics and the modern languages, in furnishing his State university; but for Political Economy, Law, and the Science of Government, he had only to reach out his hand among the graduates of William and Mary. What growth could literature as the expression of an art enjoy in such an atmosphere?

But no less did the Scotch-Irish possess their institution. As early as 1749, those in the valley originated Augusta Academy. Those in the south side were among the chief promoters in 1775 for the Prince Edward Academy. Through the patriotic fervor engendered by the Revolution, the one became changed into Liberty Hall and the other to Hampden-Sidney College. I have referred to the personality of George Wythe and the consequent school of jurists and statesmen at Williamsburg. Here we have to deal with the personality of William Graham in Rockbridge and the two brothers, Samuel Stanhope Smith and John Blair Smith, in Prince Edward. All three were Pennsylvanians by birth, were reared under Scotch-Irish influences, were pupils of Dr. Witherspoon at Princeton, and preachers in the Presbyterian Church. The Princeton influence, ever strong in Virginia, was now at its highest. Circumstances combined to make

Lexington as much a centre of intellectual culture for the one people as Williamsburg for the other. The mental activities of the youth were directed not so much to law and politics—although the history of the times would not allow these anywhere to remain wholly in the background—but it was theology and metaphysics which absorbed most attention. The genius of the race—the Scotch—was again triumphant. Among Graham's pupils in Rock-bridge, we find Revolutionary heroes, Congressmen and Judges; but it is a telling fact that more than one-fourth from among them became preachers of the gospel. It is to four of these—Archibald Alexander, Moses Hage, John Holt Rice and George A. Baxter, imbued with the spirit and purpose instilled by the teacher—that is due the rise and greatness of the two historic seminaries of Calvinistic theology at Princeton and at Hampden-Sidney.

Much the same characteristics are fairly manifest in the history of Hampden-Sidney College. She has turned out a President of the United States, one or two Cabinet members, Congressmen, Governors and Judges, but the genius of the institution has been far more directed towards producing an educated ministry and to filling professional chairs and presidencies of educational institutions. Noble and exalted aims! but in themselves not altogether favorable to the creation of an atmosphere charged

with the electric current ready for a literary outburst.

The quarter of the century from 1825 to 1850, seems especially active in the intellectual life of the State. The older colleges become infused with a new spirit. The theological seminaries at Hampden-Sidney and near Alexandria enter upon careers of distinguished usefulness. The University of Virginia opens its doors and achieves its pre-eminent position in the State and the South. There arise on all sides new institutions with high educational and literary aims. Randolph Macon in Mecklenburg, and Emory and Henry in Washington County, are organized by the Methodists. The Baptists and the Lutherans put on foot the beginnings of Richmond and Roanoke Colleges. The State opens the Military Institute at Lexington, and one or two law and medical schools are started in different localities. Further, it is in this period that the *Southern Literary Messenger* is begun, that other enterprises, Lyceums, Athenaeums and Literary Institutes, are attempted; that the Virginia Historical Society is founded and incorporated.

If the political and constitutional ferment during and after Revolutionary times, checked the expansion of literary talent and turned the genius of the people to other channels, still darker grows the prospect toward the middle of the century. The *Southern Literary Messenger* affords a most pathetic instance. In

its brief life of three decades (1834-64), it never succeeded in casting off the shadow. With distinct and apparent effort to approach nearer the ideal of a literary organ, its literary features became submerged under its uses as a reflector of political sentiment, as a defender of southern institutions and Virginian rights. Constitutional and political questions absorbed all interest, all energy—the exigencies of the time once more crushed out literature as an art and as a profession.

The influence of the colleges and seminaries could not retard this movement—indeed, but accelerated it. All participated nobly in building up the culture, the educational and intellectual life of the State—each institution, each section, each element, happy that it could preserve withal a distinctive individuality. The State University had to be largely professional—aims very distinct from literary—and specialized in philology, in mathematics, in the sciences. On the other hand, the study of the law, government, moral and political science, ever remaining popular and attractive with Virginian youth, intensified the zest for the practical politics of the day. Taking a look

backward, we see that it could hardly have been otherwise. The conditions were not those for a creative and productive era, for an universal glow and spontaneous outburst indicative of an aggressive crusade. The very preference for country life was adverse. There was hardly occasion for literary criticism, for the higher flights of poetry, for the calm observant analysis of the writer of fiction. Edgar Poe looms out conspicuously, not as one born of the times, but as a lurid meteor dashing across a darkling sky—and yet in this brilliancy matching with Hawthorne and Emerson as the three original and Titanesque appearances in American authorship.

There was no centre, whether at college or in a city, no system of large collections of books, constant public discourses, sympathetic mind in touch with kindred spirit, laboring and studying and waiting, loving literature as an art, and art for art's sake.

Intellectual energy was suppressed. It was not free to move and range at will. There could not be freedom of thought when it was ever on the defensive, on the watch for the terrible conflict which was not to be averted!

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN.

A SYNOPSIS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN ROSS COUNTY, OHIO.

DURING the years 1844, 1845 and 1846, Messrs. Squier and Davis, carried on extensive explorations in the Scioto Valley of Southwestern Ohio. Their work* is well known and comment upon it is unnecessary, except as it relates to the discoveries which will be described in this paper. Among the more important earth-works which the gentlemen surveyed, they mention the one located upon the farm of a Mr. Clark, one mile west of Anderson Station, Ross County, Ohio. The land in question is now owned by Mr. Cloud Hopewell, who has given Professor Putnam unlimited permission to examine the ground. As such an examination as is being made results in the destruction of several acres of crops, and greatly interferes with the cultivation of the farm, we cannot be too grateful to Mr. Hopewell for his courtesy.

When Messrs. Squier and Davis made their examination of the tumuli they sank small shafts from the summit of the smaller mounds downward, and in but one instance did they thoroughly explore a burial structure.

*Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 26, 158.

The larger mounds lying in the center of the enclosure were not examined by them at all. In fact, they state that the large tumulus enclosed in a semi-circle was deposited by glacial action and was not of artificial origin.

Locating our camp near a large spring in the northeast corner of the enclosure, we began a systematic investigation of the embankments, the burial places and the sites of habitations. As the work was projected in the interest of the World's Columbian Exposition and at its expense, we are not permitted to give the details of each mound explored. Our paper must be of more general character. Even were we permitted to relate all of our discoveries, the story could not be told in the space at command, for they have exceeded our utmost expectations.

Beginning at the east side of the enclosure there is a small mound barely traceable, now located in the centre of a village site. The village originally occupied about eighty acres, and its location is apparent from numerous pottery sherds, flint implements, bones of animals used for food and other debris, such as is

common upon all aboriginal town sites. Fragments of beautifully wrought stone bracelets, perforated shark's teeth (in the fossil state), and bits of bone covered with peculiar designs were found scattered through the soil in the small mound just referred to. The carvings are very singular indeed, and so far as we are aware, nothing like them has ever been found in the Ohio Valley. The designs are combinations of squares, circles and gracefully carved lines. They vary from one-fiftieth to one-sixtieth of an inch in diameter and are deeply and regularly cut in the bone. All carvings heretofore found have been very crude. These however, were made by a fairly skilled engraver, with the best of obsidian or copper tools and indicate a purpose, a design, and an artistic ability upon the part of the executor. A savage could hardly have made them.

Squier and Davis mention the carved bones of this mound but seem to have secured no good specimens.

Lying toward the west are two mounds four hundred feet apart. The smaller one is four feet in altitude with a base line of sixty feet, the larger one toward the south is two hundred and ten feet in length, one hundred and thirty feet in width, and fourteen feet in height.

In the first tumulus there were no complete skeletons, although evidences of two partially cremated ones. An imperfect altar of burnt clay lay near the centre in the cavity

of which, were numbers of delicate bone needles, flint knives and fine white ashes. Immediately above the rough altar and extending for twenty feet beyond it on all sides was a great layer of mica sheets. The mica had been split up into blocks from one-eighth to one-fourth of an inch in thickness and these were laid on top of each other, eight and ten sheets deep, each little deposit overlapping the one immediately toward the south. The builders had begun to lay the layer from the south toward the north. It resembled a roof of shingles in character. Two thousand sheets of the mineral were taken from the mound, together with copper hatchets and neck ornaments.

One of the most valuable mounds of the group was the third or oblong one. It was so large that with quite a force available it took three weeks to open it. A total of thirty-seven skeletons, two fine altars, many beautiful copper implements, platform pipes, *Pyrula* and *Busycon* shells, thousands of beads, pendants, etc., etc., were taken from the base line.

But let us examine the peculiar construction of the mound. It had been built at two periods, and there had been a great many interments covering a considerable period of time.

The first portion of the mound was eight feet in height and sixty feet in diameter, being circular and terminating in a cone at the top. In it

twelve interments had been made. The skeletons were fourteen feet from the surface of the second mound and it was utterly impossible for water or atmospheric agencies to have affected them. Moreover they lay upon hard burnt earth with practically dried clay and gravel above.

The bones were covered with dendritic formations and were so badly decayed that but few of the crania could be preserved. Several perforated humeri were observed, also displacements of the femurs, broken tibia and fibula, fractured radia and ulna. The builders evidently had no knowledge of the use of splints, as none of these broken bones had ever been reset. Some of them had grown together, the union of the broken ends being marked by enlargements the size of an egg. In other cases the bones had overlapped each other several inches, and the broken limb or arm was five or six inches shorter than the perfect one. In the case of a leg it was frequently bent like a bow. The skulls were of the brachycephalic type with but very few dolicocephali and one or two of the intermediate type.

A sixteen pound copper axe and a great stone bowl very like the mortars of the Pacific coast, many copper plates, and thousands of beads were in the lower mound.

How many years had elapsed before the second structure was added it is impossible to determine. The dark line resulting from decayed

vegetable matter, logs and stumps which marks the summit of the earlier tumulus was quite thick. In heaping up the second mound, the builders placed but six feet of earth above the apex of the first, and they added eight or ten feet to the edges of the early one, making the later interments at the base of the first. They made no interments upon the slope of the first mound, but around its edges placed a great many skeletons.

Continuing toward the west our party opened ten or twelve small mounds, finding in them six or eight splendid altars and many skeletons covered with pearl beads, and copper implements, pipes and shell ornaments of an unusual type.

Messrs. Squire and Davis mention a mound north of the effigy in which they found a great deposit of flint implements. We opened this structure and found over 7,000 flint disks laid in a circular space 30 by 40 feet. The builders seem to have carried ten or fifteen of the disks in their hands to the mound and deposited them in little piles, some upon edges, others laying flat. There are many excavations in the structure and its contents greatly disturbed. Some of the holes were made by farmers, but the greater part of them by the original builders, who used the tumulus as a cache or storage place, and took therefrom such of the disks as they chose to work into the implements. The disks are of palaeolithic type but have been chipped with great care, from

forty to fifty flakes having been detached from each side. They are of the nodule flint and not quarry flint, as many of them have limestone or chalk-like formations on the outside of the nodule upon their edges. They vary in size from six by seven to eight by nine inches.

In the latter part of October work was begun upon the large effigy mound indicated on Squier and Davis' plan as surrounded by a semi-circle. While not the highest structure in the State, it contains more earth than any other single turmulus, being 500 feet long, 200 feet wide, and ranging from 23 to 25 feet in altitude. For convenience in exploration the great heap of earth was taken out in cuts or sections, seven in number. Each excavation extended north and south, and was from 45 to 65 feet in width. A large force was employed to properly make these cuts. When a point was reached three feet above the base line the teams would be moved to the summit of the structure and a new cut begun, while the shovelers would carefully examine the three feet of earth remaining in the excavation, working from the center towards the north and then towards the south. The making of one section occupies about two weeks. Six of the seven sections are completed.

In the east cut nothing whatever was found. In the second cut ten or twelve skeletons were uncovered, accompanied by numerous objects. One in particular, to which the newspapers

have given the sensational name of "King" was covered with copper plates, pieces of decayed cloth—very coarse in texture, pearl and shell beads, pieces of mica, shell disks, bear teeth with pearl beads inserted in their sides. There were also several beautiful pipes with the skeleton. The forehead, crown and back of head was covered with a rude helmet of copper. From the crown of this helmet extended an imitation, in the same metal, of antlers 22x19 inches. These had five prongs upon each side and from their position must have stood straight up on the owner's head.

In the third cut two large finds of copper were made, also numerous skeletons. The copper is being studied at present with a view of determining its origin. There were 220 objects or ornaments representing large hatchets, plates and spool shape objects. One deposit lay above another, the plates and hatchets being upon the base line, while the sheet copper lay two feet above it. Of the lower deposit there is nothing remarkable to be observed, save in the size of one of the axes and in the great quantity of smaller hatchets and plates, the profusion of beads, etc. There are sixty-eight of the copper hatchets, forty plates, and many thousand beads. We are not aware of more than a dozen copper hatchets having been taken from a mound before at one time.

The upper deposit was entirely dif-

ferent in character from the lower. It was composed of the most unique and singular designs cut out of sheet copper. Nothing like it has ever been discovered before in the mounds of the Ohio Valley. There are four distinct copies of the Swaslika cross, there are fish and bird heads, beautifully worked in the metal, there are combs, anklets, bracelets, crecents, stencil-like figures with combinations of squares and circles, arrowhead-shaped patters, disks, wheels, etc., throughout the layer. Were such singular things manufactured by the aborigines inhabiting the Ohio Valley? We think not. The designs evince a degree of skill beyond the ability of any of the savage mound-building clans.

Some of the gentlemen connected with the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington are of the opinion that the mound had been constructed in recent times after the advent of the White settlers. They held that the sheet copper could only have been worked in such fanciful and unusual designs by traders or settlers. While admitting their theory to be worthy of great consideration, we must bear in mind the following facts: All other objects from the mound were of a most primitive character and not differing in any great degree from those previously found. They were the duplicates of hundreds of other finds whose age has been unquestioned.

There were no modern things present (unless we accept the copper as

modern), no glass beads, no iron tomahawks, nothing that could be positively attributed to European origin. That some of the mounds were constructed in post-Columbian times is probable. That this mound was constructed since the discovery of America is improbable.

If after careful study and comparison the Swaslika crosses are found to be Oriental, as Dr. Thomas Wilson of the Smithsonian thinks, the discovery will be of the greatest of importance in solving the origin of the American Race.

While in Washington we examined several books by such eminent French anthropologists as De Mortillet, and Topinard and the English authorities, Sir John Lubbock, Boyd Dawkins, etc. We were surprised that the Swaslika crosses found in the bottom of the large effigy mound just described, should be so common on many prehistoric monuments of Brittany, Italy, and particularly India, Japan and China.

We do not wish to be understood as positively asserting that the occurrence of the cross in America is due to East Indian influences. But judging from the field testimony, as the reader of this paper is compelled to do, we are convinced that when the investigations shall have come to an end, the sheet copper will not be attributed to the manufacture of the whites. How old it is we do not attempt to say. It may be five hundred years—it may be three thousand. The very

character of the burials is ancient. The decayed skeletons, but a handful of them remaining, their few bones covered with dendritic deposits, the poor rude implements, utensils, and lastly, but in no wise unimportant, the stumps and roots of aged trees

which once covered the mound, indicate to our mind the genuineness of the discovery, and, we firmly believe, establish an important place for it in American archæology.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.



GEORGE WASHINGTON TO ROBERT MORRIS.

AN INTERESTING REVOLUTIONARY CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE only man in the history of the world who ever bore the title of the Superintendent of Finance was Robert Morris of Philadelphia," says Prof. Sumner in his valuable life of Morris, recently published. Historians, Mr. Sumner justly considers, have never accorded the Financier of the Revolution the space or prominence to which his conspicuous public service and the important part which he played in the establishment of the Republic entitles him.

The prevailing idea to-day therefore of Morris, even among well informed minds, is somewhat vague. But that it should be so seems not very difficult to account for, as there was but little in Morris's public career to draw popular attention to him as an historical figure.

His public achievements for instance, were neither heroic nor sensational, and they were moreover understood and appreciated by only a few of the most advanced of his contemporaries, and were besides clouded by scandal during his lifetime by the prejudices which his wealth invited, and by the story of his wretched downfall and death in obscurity in May 1806.

Robert Morris came to Philadelphia about the year 1750, with some means it may be supposed, but with no great fortune. His father, Robert Morris, was an English merchant of Lancashire, but Robert was born in Liverpool January 31st, 1734. Being interested in American commerce the senior Morris came to this country and settled at Oxford, on the eastern shore of Maryland, where he engaged in a career as a farmer and importing merchant.

When Robert was about seventeen years of age his father died, and as his means were small it became necessary he should learn some useful business. He was therefore sent to the Quaker city, and placed as an apprentice in the counting-house of Charles Willing, one of the most extensive merchants of that time. Here he conducted himself with activity and intelligence, and won the good will of all who were connected with him. To these circumstances we may attribute the fact that in 1754 he was in a position to form a partnership with Thomas Willing, the son of his master. The firm of Willing & Morris was enterprising and successful, and in the course of time became

very rich, and the most extensive shipping-house in the city.

During the early years of his mercantile career, Mr. Morris appears to have had no desire for public office, and was known as a business man and not as a politician. On the 27th of February 1769, he married Mary White, the sister of Bishop White and a leading belle during her day.

It was not until the rising disputes between America and Great Britain called every man to take sides, that Mr. Morris appeared in public affairs, first in connection with the resistance to the Stamp Act. In 1765 he signed the non-importation agreement, and was on a committee of citizens to force John Hughes, collector of the stamp tax, to desist from the administration of his office in October of that year.

His career as a public man began when the Revolutionary war broke out, and his remarkable qualities as a business man rapidly brought him to the front in the Continental Congress. From the first, and for years, he was the leading spirit of the committees which controlled the finances and conduct of the war, and he had to undertake a number of functions which no modern secretary of the treasury ever thinks of executing, and indeed took part in all the great enterprises of the United States which were not military.

Morris, like Jay, Duane, Edward Rutledge, Henry Laurens, William Livingston, Dickinson and others

was opposed to a Declaration of Independence, clearly and unequivocally; not however because he had faltered by the wayside, or lost his interest or faith in the cause, but because in his judgment the time had not come. He voted against Lee's Resolution of Independence on the 1st of July, and on the 2nd and 4th he did not take his seat. Whatever his doubts may have been however, they were finally overruled by his friends, and subsequent events strengthened his resolution, so that when on the 2nd of August the Declaration of Independence was engrossed and ready for signing, Morris was ready to affix his signature with the others. When it was agreed by Congress that the management of finance should become a separate office, controlled by one man, Morris was immediately and unanimously selected for this important appointment.

By the acceptance of this post his life was embittered through the attacks of his enemies upon him in connection with his financial administration. On the other hand, however, his energy and resources as a financier, in devising expedients when he found himself in most perplexing positions; in raising money to replenish the exchequer of the Continental Congress, at times when it seemed to that body that success was hopeless, gained for him the profound admiration and respect of many of the noted men of his time. First and foremost amongst them was General George

Washington, who always remained his true friend, and even after Morris had been freely accused of financial dishonesty, believed in his integrity and offered him the position of Secretary of the Treasury under the new government, before he gave it to Hamilton.

Custis is reported as saying that Morris was the one man to whom Washington unbent and disclosed himself. The truth of this assertion can largely be determined by a perusal of the following letters, which in view of Mr. Sumner's recent publication are of unusual interest at the moment, forming, as they do, Washington's portion of the original correspondence between himself and Robert Morris on important war matters covering a period from Jan-

uary 13 1777, to December 24, 1781, and now for the first time presented entire.

Until recently, when they were sold at public auction in Philadelphia, these valuable writings formed part of a collection of autograph letters of noted Americans owned by a Virginian, a maternal descendant of John Randolph, and a collateral descendant of Robert Morris. It is to be noted that the majority of the letters were written at Morristown, although several were dispatched from Valley Forge.

The opening letter of the correspondence appears to be simply a personal note in which Washington requests Morris to deliver several letters for him. It reads as follows:

MORRISTOWN, JAN. 13, 1777.

Dear Sir :

If amidst a multiplicity of important matters, you could suffer a trivial one to intrude, I should thank you most heartily for taking a letter or two of mine, when you do your own, by the Southern mail, and forwarding of them, as opportunity offers, to the camp,—I have long since drop'd all private correspondence with my friends in Virginia, finding it incompatible with my public business. A Letter or two from my family, are regularly sent by Post, but very irregularly received, which is rather mortifying, as it deprives me of the consolation of hearing from home or domestic matters.

I beg you'll excuse this freedom and do me the justice to believe, that with very sincere esteem and regard

I am,

Dr Sir yr most obed. ser

GEO WASHINGTON.

The next letter in order covers two folio pages and is most interesting reading. Almost afraid to express it Washington, when he wrote, was evidently hourly expecting an attack upon his poorly protected army, and to avert it, sent out strong detachments

of picked men to assail and harass General Howe's troops, with the result that in a short time not a single British regular remained in the Jerseys, except at New Brunswick and Amboy. This is the letter :

MORRISTOWN, JAN. 19, 1777.

Dear Sir :

Your favor of the 14th with the dispatches from congress came safe to hand, and those for the eastward forwarded on—I am thankful to you for the information of Capt'n Bell. Intelligence of the same nature had come to me before, and I had no doubt (if the diversion intended to be made by Genl Heath towards New York, does not withdraw from the Jerseys, or detain part of the troops said to be remanded from Rhode Island) but that a storm will burst soon, somewhere. How well we are prepared for it, my letter to congress, enclosed will inform you,—I do imagine that the aim will be at this army—our numbers will be estimated larger than they really are. Genl Howe will not therefore, I should think, move forward or leave us in his rear, but clear I am in my own judgment that he will endeavor to disperse this army, or move on to Philadelphia, unless his force is much less than we imagine, or he greatly misconceives ours, neither of which do I believe.

For this reason, I again beg leave to give it as my opinion, that no part of the public stores that can be dispensed with, should remain in Philadelphia; and to request you, to urge Colonel Flowers, not to continue the operations of his department a moment longer than he can avoid in that place, as it is only intended, not to be idle, while he is preparing his elatatory &c., &c., at York or Carlyle. With great esteem and regard I am,

Dr Sir

Yr most obed't serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

Please to send me a pound or two of good sealing wax if it is to be procured.

When Robert Morris replied to this with great interest. He thanks epistle he evidently enclosed the Mr. Morris for sending it, and General a copy of the King's speech, at the same time gives some interesting information in his next writing :

HEADQUARTERS MORRISTOWN, 5TH FEB'Y, 1777.

Dear Sir :

I have yours of the 31st ulto and can readily excuse you not answering my letters with regularity, as I know the weight of important business that lays upon your hands. The return of stores made by Mr. Towers is so small that I do not think the immediate removal of them any ways necessary. Besides they are such as will be chiefly taken up by the Troops upon their march, if there are any bulky articles not likely to be wanted soon, they are better out of the way. Mr. Wallace wrote to Gen'l Sullivan concerning his plate, and have desired him to write to Gen Heath and know wether he got it. You may depend that such steps shall be taken as will render strict justice to Mr. Wallace and the Public.

I perfectly agree in sentiments with you, that it would be better for every suspicious person to be in New York, for which reason you have Liberty to send Capt Jones in exchange for Capt Hallock, and Mr. Palmer for Capt Dear, if there are any others, taken in merchantmen, that are not held as prisoners of war. Use your own discretion, only endeavor if you can to procure the liberty of masters of ships or others [in] the same circumstances with themselves. I hope your ship will not loose her valuable cargo of salt. I thank you for the copy of the King's speech, which I think fairly bids the Parliament to prepare for an approaching storm, indeed France has done everything but make the much wished for declaration.

I have given Mons Devolland a Lieutenancy in Colonel Patton's Regiment.

I am Dear Sir

Sincerely and affectionately yours

GEO WASHINGTON

During the entire period of Washington's occupancy of his headquarters at Morristown he constantly expected that the British would attempt to occupy Philadelphia, the capital city. And he also realized that he was powerless to prevent such a move. The only thing that could be

done was to remove to a place of safety the large quantity of valuable stores in and around the Quaker city. In a letter written to Morris on his birthday he fully expresses his ideas regarding this matter and tells what should be done.

HEADQUARTERS MORRIS TOWN 22D FEBY. 1777.

Dear Sir :

You are well acquainted with my opinion, upon the unexpediency of keeping any more stores in the city of Philadelphia, than are absolutely necessary for the equipment of the new Levies. I am at this time particularly anxious to have them removed. The enemy have lately been considerably reinforced in Jersey, and, from a variety of accounts are meditating some blow. I am firmly persuaded that they mean to attempt to reach Philadelphia again, as I do not know what other object they can have ultimately in view. They may first remove us from this, and our other posts, but they cannot remain at them for want of covering for their army, which I imagine they will never again suffer to be cantoned over a great extent of county. I have certain information, that they have been projecting a portable Bridge to lay over the Delaware, and I do not see any great difficulty in transporting it from Brunswic to the Delaware, if they take advantage of the Roads being hard and firm. The numbers, that are at present in Amboy and Brunswic, cannot long subsist there, and adds strength to my opinion, that they are assembled there for some other purpose, than merely as a reinforcement. The Salt that has lately been imported should be the first article secured. Mr. Walton wrote me that he either had or was carrying it to a place of security, but as I do not altogether depend upon his promises, I should be glad if you would have an eye to that and the other matters in his department.

I know you have sufficient in your own, to engage

your whole time and attention, but in times like these
we must double our exertions. I am dear Sir

With the greatest Sincerity

Y'r most ob't Serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

One of the most interesting letters in this remarkable correspondence is the following:

HEAD QUARTERS MORRIS TOWN MAY 19, 1777.

Dear Sir:

Your favor by monsieur Armand was duly handed me. I have been happy to show him every mark of attention in my power, the considerations you mention, gave him a just claim to it,—and derived additional weight from your recommendation.

I am pleased to find congress took such distinguishing notice of him, as they did in their late appointment, he has requested to have the command of a partisan corps already formed. I have recommended to him to engage as many as he can meet with fit for his purpose; and have left it to him, to nominate such French officers, as he thinks qualified for the position to serve under him, as I confide in his making a judicious choice, I doubt not that they will be such as I can approve. He appears to me to be a modest, genteel, sensible young gentleman, and I flatter myself his conduct will be such as to give us no reason to repent any civilities that may be shown him. I am with great respect

Dear Sir

Your most obedient servant

GEO WASHINGTON

Charles Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Ronarie, to whom Washington refers, was born in France in 1756. Shortly after the breaking out of the Revolution he came to this country, and on the 10th of May 1777, received a commission in the continental army as Col-

onel. On the same day Robert Morris wrote General Washington a letter, to be carried by Armand, and introducing him, saying he had received letters from France which "He was obliged to attend to and put great faith in, as they came from persons worthy of the utmost

credit. * * * I find he is a little disgusted at an appointment made for him by congress this day, and I believe it was through the inattention of a committee, which I shall set right again in a short time."

At his own instance Armand was directed to raise a partisan corps of Frenchmen, not exceeding the number of two hundred, and on the 10th of July 1777, congress ordered that two thousand dollars be advanced to him. He fought through the war and performed gallant service at times.

Near its close he was raised to the rank of Brigadier General. But this was only after he had frequently and freely expressed himself as much disappointed with the promotions in the Continental army, saying that he procured no chance for his advancement.

Washington, as will be seen by the following letter to Morris, did not altogether sympathize with Armand in this matter or think his position just.

VALLEY FORGE FEBY 10TH 1778

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 19th ulto by Col Armand came to my hands a few days ago. Rest assured, my good sir, that the Gent'n misconceives the matter exceedingly if he think my conduct towards him is influenced in the smallest degree by motives of resentment, arising from misrepresentation. I have ever looked upon him as a spirited officer, and everything that was in my power to do for him (consistently with the great line of my duty) I have done; but the conduct which congress unhappily adopted in the early part of the war, by giving high rank to foreigners, who enjoyed little or none in their own country, & in many instances of equivocal character, has put it out of their power without convulsing the whole military system to employ these people now; for viewing rank relatively, the man who has been a major for instance, in the French service finding a subaltern (there) a field officer in ours, extends his views at once to a Brigade, or at least a Regiment—and where is either of them to be found? Without displacing or disgusting our own officers, whose pretensions would be injured by it, & whose natural interest in & attachment to the cause of their country, is more to be relied on than superior abili-

ties in capricious foreigners, who are dissatisfied with any rank you can give them, while there is yet higher to attain.

With respect to the particular case of Col Armand, I have only to add, that if it was in my power to serve him, I would notwithstanding he was influenced to resign in a pet.—The corps he commanded has long since been reduced to a mere handful of men (under 50) & you are sensible that it is not in my power to raise any new ones without the authority of congress.

Mrs. Washington who is now in camp, desires me to offer her respectful compliments to Mrs. Morris & yourself, to which be so good as to add those of

Dr Sir

yr most obed serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

Probably the most valuable and attractive letter of the entire correspondence is one written at Valley Forge just at the close of that terrible winter of '77-78, the most trying period of the war. From it we are

able to obtain a true picture and impression of the real Washington, and in it predicts, perhaps for the first time from his own convictions, a favorable close of the struggle for the colonial cause. He says :

VALLEY—FORGE MAY 25, 1778

Dear Sir;

Your favor of the 9th Inst informed me of the acceptable present which your friend Mr. Gouverneur (of Curracoa) was pleased to intend for me, and for which he will, through you, accept my sincere thanks—these also due to you my good sir, for the kind communication of the matter, and for the trouble you have had in ordering the wine forward.

I rejoice most sincerely with you, on the glorious change in our prospects—Calmness and serenity, seems likely to succeed in some measure, those dark and tempestuous clouds which at times appeared ready to overwhelm us,—The game wether well or ill played hitherto, seems now to be verging fast to a favorable issue, and cannot I think be lost, unless we throw it away by too

much supineness on the one hand, or impetuosity on the other—God forbid that either of these should happen at a time when we seem to be upon the point of reaping the fruits of our toil and labour,—a stroke, & reverse, under such circumstances, would be doubly distressing.——

My best respects in which Mrs. Washington joins, are offered to your Lady, & with sincere thanks for your kind wishes, I remain

Dr Sir

Yr Most obed't Serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

From his headquarters at Springfield, almost one year after the above epistle was dispatched, the Commander-in-Chief wrote to Robert

Morris and B. McClenachan jointly the following letter in which he does not forget to thank them for a pipe of spirits :

HEAD QURS AT SPRING-FIELD, 20TH, JUNE 1780.

Gent'n :

I am honored with your favor of the 3rd and have received—in good order the pipe of spirits you were pleased to present me with,—for both permit me to offer my grateful thanks, and to assure you that, the value of the latter was greatly entranced by the flattering sentiments contained in the former.

In a struggle like ours—perplexed with embarrassments—if it should be my fortune to conduct the military helm in such a manner as to merit the approbation of good men and my suffering fellow citizens it will be the primary happiness of my life because it is the first & great object of my wishes.

To you Gent'n I shall commit the charge of making a tender of my respects and thanks to the rest of the others—with much esteem & personal regard

I have the honor to be

Gent'n

yr most obed & Oblg'd

GEO WASHINGTON

Dear Sir,

Knowing full well the
multiplicity & importance of y^r
business, it would give me more
pleasure if I thought
your friendship, or respect for me
did, in the smallest degree interfere
with it. — at all times I shall be
happy to see you, but wish it to
be in your moments of leisure —
if any such you have. —

M^r Washington, myself
and family, will have the honor
of dining with you in the way
proposed, to morrow. being Christ-
mas day.

I am sincerely & affect-

ally
y^{rs}

G. Washington

Monday 24.
Dec.

There are several short personal letters in this valuable correspondence, of which the one on the preceding page is an example, that are of no public interest apart from the fact that they serve to demonstrate very clearly the close intimacy and firm friendship that existed between Morris and Washington. For in-

5

stance, in one of them, dated December 24, 1781, the General writes: "Mrs. Washington, myself and family will have the honor of dining with you Christmas day," assuming that such an engagement would be entirely agreeable to Mr. and Mrs. Morris.

E. LESLIE GILLIAMS.



THE PURITAN SABBATH.

PROF. Fiske, in a note in *The Beginnings of New England*, says of Sewall's Diary: "There is a wonderful charm in such a book. It makes one feel as if one had really 'been there' and taken part in the homely scenes, full of human interest which it so naively portrays." This appreciative comment might with equal truth, and for the same reasons, be applied to Mrs. Earle's most interesting study of "The Sabbath in Puritan New England."* This book has the same charm—making us feel as if we had 'been there,' in the very company of our Puritan ancestors, a witness of the homely yet very human scenes which characterized the colonial church life.

The ceremonies and observances of the "Lords Day" quaint and often amusing to us, but solemn enough to them, were in a profound sense the real expression of the Puritan character. It is true that on all the other days of the week the religious convictions and training of the men who had crossed the sea to found an ideal theocratic state, remained a tremendous and constant force. The Holy

Scriptures was their confessed guide and sole arbiter of affairs, secular as well as spiritual. Even the road to citizenship was through the church and no detail of every day life was so trivial as not to be referred to the Bible for its support and authority. The government of the family, of the township, and of the colony was moulded and dominated, in written or unwritten code, by the direct and positive influence of the "Word of God."

But it was on the "Lords Day" that the Puritan felt free to give this intense influence its fullest, and, we might add, its most dramatic expression, and as a result, from the curious customs and ceremonials of the New England Sabbath we get a strong light on the essential Puritan character.

There is no form of historical writing so fascinating as the autobiographical, and Mrs. Earle in her interesting book has very happily caught the spirit of autobiography. She has collected from all manner of authentic sources, chiefly we conclude from town records, church archives, and personal diaries, a vast body of facts which she has put together in so cunning a mosaic as to

*"The Sabbath in Puritan New England," by Alice Morse Earle. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1891.

present an altogether characteristic picture of the Puritan painted by the Puritan himself. She has chosen to limit this interesting study to the observances of one day—the Sabbath—and has wisely avoided, as quite foreign to her purpose, all discussion of the peculiar doctrines and creeds which were the distinction of those early colonists. Her point of view is distinctly and avowedly that of the “looker on in Vienna.” We are invited to join the church-going procession, and are seated in the strangers “pues” as witnesses of the curious customs of the “meeting.” We are not expected to be in sympathy with them except in the remote way in which one always sympathizes with whatever is the outgrowth of profound convictions. We are even expected to smile at the quaint scenes and formidable services—the Psalm singing, the long prayers full of personal petitions, the longer sermons bristling with doctrines and blood-curdling prophecies, and the curious figure of the watchful tithingman diligently rousing the sleepers with his long staff.

Removed as we are from these scenes by more than two centuries, and accustomed to the environment which the complexity of modern life has thrown around the church and its observances, the simple ceremonies which are brought so vividly before us in this succession of pictures seems strange indeed. What Mrs. Earle has brought together with such

patient research and arranged with such skill, is so interesting in its entirety that it is difficult to make selections which will give anything like a fair idea of her contribution to the study of Puritan Sociology.

Her first grouping of facts illustrates the “Meeting House,” its external and internal appearance, the observances and ceremonies of the “meeting” itself, and the interesting midday interruption of the “nooning,” which became unconsciously but naturally an important social function in the Puritan community.

According to Mrs. Earle the very earliest meeting-houses as we should expect, were “simple buildings enough, —square log-houses with clay-filled chinks, surmounted by steep roofs thatched with long straw or grass, and often with only the beaten earth for a floor. It was considered a great advance and a matter of proper pride when the settlers had the meeting-house ‘lathed on the inside, and so daubed and whitened over workman-like.’ As the colonists grew in wealth and numbers, they desired and built better sanctuaries—‘good, roomthy meeting-houses.’

“The second form or type of American church architecture was a square wooden building, usually unpainted, crowned with a truncated pyramidal roof, which was surmounted (if the church could afford such luxury) with a belfry or turret containing a bell.”

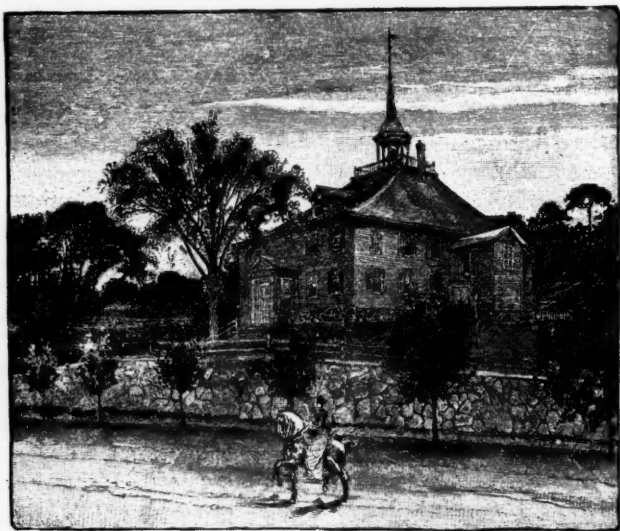
The church at Hingham (1681) still

stands, a representative of this second style; while the third advance in architecture resulted in the style of building of which the Old South Church of Boston is a typical model.

In selecting sites for their places of worship these strict Puritans seem sometimes to have been influenced by motives that were not altogether

Many of these edifices can be seen to-day in New England, crowning almost inaccessible heights, and by their aspect of desertion and decay bearing pathetic testimony to the fact that the Puritan traditions are no longer predominant."

The erection of a meeting-house was a most important performance,



OLD CHURCH AT HINGHAM (1681).

spiritual, for says Mrs. Earle "Our Puritan ancestors dearly loved a sightly location and were willing to climb uphill cheerfully, even through bleak New England winters, for the sake of having a meeting-house which 'showed off' well, and was a proper source of envy to the neighboring villages and the country around.

according to Mrs. Earle. "The church-raising was always a great event in the town. Each citizen was forced by law to take part in or contribute to 'raising the Meeting-hows.' Not only were logs, and lumber, and the use of horses' and men's labor given, but a contribution was also levied for the inevitable

barrel of rum and its unintoxicating accompaniments. 'Rhum and Cacks' are frequent entries in the account books of the early churches."

It was not strange that the almost universal custom of spirit drinking among the Puritans should extend to the clergy, some of whom occasionally became a little "gilded," to use one of their curiously expressive phrases, through over indulgence. Yet it would not be just to assume that they drank to excess any more than our modern clergymen, because there were some of whom it might be truthfully recorded that they had "gone to their graves, full of years, honor, simplicity and rum."

The Puritan churchman's contempt of comfort is shown by the utter absence of any effort to shield himself from the inclemencies without the meeting house or to render the interior either attractive or comfortable. "The early churches," says Mrs. Earle, "were destitute of shade, for the trees in the immediate vicinity were always cut down on account of dread of the fierce fires which swept often through the forests and overwhelmed and destroyed the towns. The heat and blazing light in summer were as hard to bear in those unscreened meeting-houses as was the cold in winter."

The interior of these primitive churches was rude and simple, with raftered walls, sanded floors, rows of benches, a few pews and the pulpit. Whatever feeling the early

Puritan had for ornamentation and display, was localized on the pulpit. "These pulpits were usually high desks to which led a narrow flight of stairs. In later years the stairway was frequently enclosed in a towering hexagonal mahogany structure which was ornamented with pillars and panels. Into this the minister walked and closed the door behind him, and invisibly ascended the stairs, while the children counted the seconds from the time he closed the door until his head appeared through the trap door at the top of the pulpit. One old church retained until near the middle of the present century as its sole decoration, an enormous carefully painted staring eye, a terrible and suggestive illustration to youthful wrong doers of the all-seeing eye of God."

As the ceiling and rafters of the meeting house were open, it was a common custom "to hang above the pulpit a great sounding board, which threatened the minister like a giant extinguisher, and was really as devoid of utility as it was curious in ornamentation. It was often decorated with painted rosettes, with carved ivy leaves, or a bunch of grapes, or was inscribed with appropriate mottoes, such as 'Holiness is the Lord's,' and constituted a great ornament to the church and a source of honest pride to its members."

The seats in the primitive meeting-house were long, narrow, uncomfortable benches. As the colonies grew

in wealth and importance the evolution of the "pue" took place. "Many of these pews" says Mrs. Earle, "had towering partition walls which extended up so high that only the tops of the heads of the tallest persons could be seen when the occupants were seated. The seats were sometimes on four sides of these pews, but



OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

oftener on three sides only, and so at least two-thirds of the pew occupants did not face the minister. The pew-seats were as narrow and uncomforta-

ble as the pæbeian benches, though never exclusive."

These seats were hung on hinges and were swung up against the sides of the pews during the long prayers through which it was the invariable custom to stand. This occasioned such regulations as these of the church at Haverhill—"The people are to let down their seats without such Nois" and "the boyes are not to wickedly noise down their pew seats."

Mrs. Earle finds frequent mention of the custom which is even yet common in many parts of New England of carrying to church sprigs of dill, fennel or caraway to be "munched" during the sermon as an antidote against sleepiness. She tells of one old gentleman who relates his youthful experiences in this direction in the following verses:

"And when I tired and restless grew,
Our next pew neighbor, Mrs. True,
Reached her kind hand the top rail
through
To hand me dill and fennel too,
And sprigs of caraway.

And as I munched the spicy seeds,
I dimly felt that kindly deeds
That thus supply our present needs,
Tho' only gifts of pungent weeds,
Show true religion."

"Traditions" says Mrs. Earle, "of mysterious powers, dream-influencing, spirit-exorcising, hung vaguely around the southernwood and made it peculiarly fit to be a Sabbath-day posy.

"Half a century ago, the pretty feathery pale green shrub grew in every country dooryard, humble or great, throughout New England; and every church-going woman picked a branch or spray of it when she left her home on Sabbath morn. To this day, on hot summer Sundays, many a staid old daughter of the Puritans may be seen entering the village meeting-house, clad in a lilac-sprigged lawn or a green-striped barege—with a lace-bordered silk cape or a purple and white cashmere scarf on her bent shoulders, wearing on her gray head a shirred-silk or leghorn bonnet, and carrying in her lace-mitted hand a fresh handkerchief a spectacle case and well-worn Bible, and a great sprig of the sweet, old fashioned 'lad's love.' A rose, a bunch of mignonette would be to her too gay a posy for the Lord's House and the Lord's Day."

To us who are accustomed to the yearly sale of church pews by auction to the highest bidder, the Puritan method of "seating the meeting-houses," as they quaintly phrased it, seems most curious. The Puritans denounced pomp and ceremonials, yet nevertheless were great respecters of persons.

In the development of the Puritan community and as a sequence of their scheme of life, the individual became of extreme importance, and in this fact we find a sufficient, natural reason for this custom of "seating the meeting." Of the peculiar cere-

monies which has made the Sabbath of the Puritans so interesting, this was one of the latest to yield to the modern spirit and usage, and according to the church records the custom was not abandoned in some parts of New England until the first quarter of the present century.

"Perhaps no duty was more important," says Mrs. Earle, "and more difficult of satisfactory performance than 'seating the meeting-house.' In nothing was the regard for wealth and position more fully shown than in designating the seat in which each person should sit during public worship. A committee of dignified and influential men was appointed to assign irrevocably to each person his or her place according to rank and importance. From old church and town records, we plainly see that each laic, deacon, elder, criminal, singer and even the 'ungodly boy' had his allotted place as absolutely assigned to him in the old meeting-house as was the pulpit to the parson. The seating committee sent to the church the list of all the attendants and the seats assigned to them, and when the list had been twice or thrice read to the congregation and nailed on the meeting-house door it became a law." The seat assigned in meeting was a very complete expression of the honor and respect in which one was held in the Puritan community; age, education, reputation, military and civil service were all potential factors in deciding this important distinction.

"In all the earlier Puritan meetings, as then and now in the Quaker meetings, the men sat on one side of the meeting-house and the women on the other; and they entered by separate doors. It was a great and much contested change when men and

interesting entry: "Whereas, there hath been several rude actions of late happened in our church by reason of the people not being seated which is much to the dishonor of God and the discouragement of virtue. For preventing of the like again, it is or-



ANCIENT CHURCH PEW.

women were ordered to sit together 'promiscuously.'"

We find this important and complicated matter of seating the meeting had passed beyond the boundaries of the New England colonies of which Mrs. Earle writes. The records of the church at Brookhaven, L. I., August 6, 1703, shows this quaint and

dered that the inhabitants be seated," and then follow the rules by which this is to be done.

"Little girls, sat with their mothers or elders on 'crickets' within the pews. Often a row of little daughters of Zion sat on three-legged stools and low seats the entire length of the aisle, but the boys

were herded by themselves. They usually sat on the pulpit and gallery stairs, and constables and tithingmen were appointed to watch and control them.

"I like to think," exclaims Mrs. Earle, "of those rows of sober-faced Puritan boys seated on the narrow steep pulpit stairs, clad in knee-breeches and homespun flapped coats and with round, cropped heads, miniature likenesses in dress and countenance (if not in deportment) of their grave, stern, God-fearing fathers. Though they were of the sedate Puritan blood, they were boys, and they wriggled and twisted and scraped their feet noisily on the sanded floor. One other seat in the old Puritan meeting-house, a seat of gloom, still throws its darksome shadows down through the years—the stool of repentance. 'Barbarous and cruel punishments' were forbidden by the statutes of the new colony, but on this terrible soul-rack sat the shrinking, sulken or defiant form of some painfully humiliated man or woman, crushed and cowering, bearing on the head a paper inscribed in 'Capitall Letters' with the name of some dark or mysterious crime, or wearing on the sleeve some strange and dread symbol, or on the breast a scarlet letter."

The tithing-man whom Mrs. Earle finds most carefully portrayed in these old records, she rightly characterizes as the most grotesque, extraordinary and highly colored figure in all the sombre New England

church life. She describes him as a distorted and absurd type of the English church beadle—a sort of low comedy strain in the sober religious drama of that early New England life. Fussy and pompous he certainly was on the Sabbath, strutting about the quiet meeting-house, rapping the restless boys and prodding the elderly sleepers. For this purpose he was equipped with a long staff with a knob at one end and at the other a long fox tail or hares foot, which he softly thrust into faces of the dozing maidens and matrons.

Mrs. Earle quotes from the Journal of Obadiah Turner of Lynn, Mass., an account of one of these burlesque beadles which brings the whole scene before us.

"June 3, 1646, Allen Bridges hath been chose to wake ye sleepers in meeting. And being much proude of his place, must needs have a fox taile fixed to ye ende of a long staff wherewith he may brush ye faces of them yt will have napps in time of discourse, likewise a sharpe thorne whereby he may pricke such as be most sound.

On ye last Lord his day, as hee stalked about ye meeting-house, he did spy Mr. Tomlins sleeping with much comfort, hys head kept steadie by being in ye corner, and his hand grasping ye rail. And soe spying Allen did quickly thrust his staff behind Dame Ballard and give him a greivous prick on ye hand. Whereupon Mr. Tomlins did spring upp mch above ye floore, and with terrible force strike hys hand against ye wall; and also, to ye great wonder of all, prophanelie exclaimed in a loud voice, curse ye woodchuck, he dreaming so it seemed yt a woodchuck had seized and bit his hand. But on coming to know where he was, and

ye great scandall he had committed, he seemed much abashed, but did not speak. And I think he will not soon again goe to sleepe in meeting."

It would appear from the records that few towns were content with one tithing-man. There were usually several appointed in each parish. They were in authority during the week as well as on Sunday, and reported when any member of a family within their jurisdiction failed to attend public worship. They marked and noted all who "prophanely behaved, lingered without dores at meeting time on the Lordes Daie," and all the "Sons of Belial, strutting about, setting on fences, and otherwise desecrating the day," and could arrest any who "walked or rode unnecessarily on the Sabbath."

Mrs. Earle sums up this ancient tithingman by saying "he was pre-eminently a general 'snook,' an informer both in and out of meeting—a very necessary, somewhat odious but certainly at times a very absurd officer. He was, in a degree, a constable, a selectman, a teacher, a tax-collector, an inspector, a sexton, a home-watcher, but above all a Puritan Bumble whose motto was 'Hic et ubique.'"

"For many years after the settlement of New England," says Mrs. Earle, "the Puritans even in ordinary tranquil times went armed to meeting. As late as 1692, so the records show, the Connecticut legislature ordered one-fifth of the soldiers of each

town to bring their arms to the meeting-house. By a statute of 1644, these guards were commanded to wear armor which consisted of 'coats basted with cotton-wool and thus made defensive against Indian arrows.'

"These armed 'sentinells' are always regarded as a most picturesque accompaniment of Puritan religious worship, and this apparently incongruous union of church and army seemed suitable enough in a community that always began and ended the military exercises on 'training day' with solemn prayer and psalm-singing."

The whole strange scene becomes a concrete image in the mind of Mrs. Earle, and she exclaims, "Can you not see it? The warm June sunlight streaming in thro' the narrow dusty windows of the old meeting-house; the armed watcher at the door; the Puritan men and women in their sad-colored mantles, seated sternly upright on the hard benches; the black-gowned minister, the droning murmur of whose sleepy voice mingles with the out-door sounds of the rustle of leafy branches, the song of summer birds, and the muffled stamping of horses feet; the restless boys on the pulpit stairs; the tired sleeping Puritan with his head thrown back in the corner of the pew, and the vain tithingman strutting about with his fantastic and thorned staff of office."

The Puritan meeting-house was totally without means for heating it

and in the colonial days, as Mrs. Earle observes, the long and tedious services must have been difficult to endure in bitter winter weather. One of these old chroniclers puts an unconsciously dramatic touch into his gossiping diary when he records that one day the weather was so cold that "communion bread was frozen pretty hard, and rattled sadly into the communion plates." Nothing could more strikingly emphasize the privations that these Puritan worshippers endured in these comfortless meeting-houses than the gloomy rattle of that frozen sacramental bread on the church plate.

It appears that the men with careful partiality and good sense wore top-boots, heavy frieze stockings, and, later on, warm periwigs surrounded by fur caps or hoods and many-caped great coats or full round cloaks. In some parts of New England the men even carried muffs. The Boston 'News Letter' of 1716, as Mrs. Earle notes, offers a reward for a man's muff lost on the Sabbath day on the street, and there are other indications that the custom was quite general.

"But the Puritan goodwives and maidens," says Mrs. Earle, "were dressed in a meagre and scanty fashion that when now considered seems fairly appalling. Their cloth or kid or silk slippers and high-channelled pumps were the holiday and Sabbath day covering for the feet, excepting in the stormiest weather. Often in midwinter the scant-skirted French

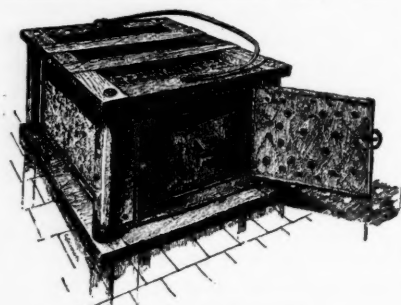
calico gowns were made with short elbow sleeves and round, low necks, and the throat and shoulders were lightly covered with thin lawn handkerchiefs or dimity tuckers. A thin cloth cape, mantle or spencer was frequently the only covering for the shoulders. In bitter winter weather women carried to meeting little footstoves—metal boxes, which stood on legs and were filled with hot coals at home, and a second time during the morning from the hearth stone of a neighboring farm-house or a 'noon-house.' These footwarmers helped to make endurable to the goodwives the icy chill of the meeting-house; and round the footstoves the shivering little children sat on low 'crickets,' warming their half-frozen fingers."

The introduction of stoves created much discussion. It seemed sybaritic to the Puritan mind, and Mrs. Earle shows from the records that it was well into the eighteenth century before the New England congregation ceased to piously freeze during service time.

One of the brightest bits in this sombre mosaic is the account of the "noon or Sabba-day house," and its unconscious re-enforcement of the meagre social resources of the Puritans.

"There might have been seen a hundred years ago by the side of many an old meeting-house in New England, a long, low, stable-like building, with a rough stone chimney at one end. This was the "noon-

house" or "Sabba-day house" or "horse house," as it was variously called. It was a place of refuge in the winter time at the noon interval, between the two services, for the half-frozen members of the pious congregation, who found there the grateful warmth which the house of God denied. They built in the rude stone fireplace a great fire of logs, and in front of the blazing wood ate their noon-day meal of cold pie, doughnuts, pork and peas, or brown bread with cheese, which they had



COLONIAL FOOT STOVE.

brought safely packed in their capacious saddle bags.

"From the blazing fire in this 'life-saving-station' the women replenished their little foot-stoves with fresh, hot coals, and thus helped to make endurable the icy rigor of the long afternoon service. In many villages the meetings in the 'noon-houses' were to the towns people what a Sunday newspaper is to Sunday readers of our time, an advertisement and exposition of all the news of the

past week, and a suggestion of events to come. At noon they discussed and wondered at the announcements and publishings which were tacked on the door of the meeting-house or the notices that had been read from the pulpit. The men talked in loud voices of the points of the sermon, of the doctrines of predestination, pedobaptism and anti-pedobaptism, of original sin, and that most fascinating mystery, the unpardonable sin, and in lower voices of wolf and bear killing, of the town meeting, the taxes, the crops and cattle; and they examined with keen interest one another's horses, and many a sly bargain was suggested, bargained and clinched in the 'Sabba'-day house.' Many a piece of electioneering was also discussed and 'worked' between the services.

"The shivering women crowded around the blazing and welcome fire, while they ate and exchanged doughnuts, slices of rusk or pieces of 'pumpkin and Indian mixet' pie, and also gave to each other receipts therefor; and perhaps (since they were women as well as Puritans), they glanced with envy, admiration, or disapproval, or at any rate with close scrutiny, at one another's gowns and bonnets and cloaks, which the high-walled pews within the meeting-house had carefully concealed from inquisitive view. A sentence from an old letter brings the scene very near: 'Anne Bradford gave to me last Sabbath in the noon-house a peeing of the Blazing Star:

'tis much finer than the Irish Chain or the Twin Sisters. I will send some of my lilac flowered print for some peeces of Cicelys yelloe India bed vallants.' The wood for the fires was furnished by the farmers of the congregation, and an apple-growing farmer often contributed a barrel of "cyder" which New England beverage must have proved a great comfort to the shivering laymen and deacons." The records also furnish occasional glimpses of the brewing in the noon-house of that 'most insinuating drink,' flip. Its potent constituent was Jamaica rum, a favorite stimulant of our forefathers, and was mixed with an iron stirring-stick heated in the fire and called with fatal felicity a "logger head." With the incoming of stoves the noon-house was doomed and soon disappeared.

One of the most characteristic customs of the Puritans was their psalm singing, to which Mrs. Earle devotes four of the most interesting chapters of her book. She gives an elaborate account of the old Bay Psalm book which has the distinguished honor of being the first book printed in New England, having been published in 1640—as well as of "Sternhold & Hopkins Psalms" and "Ainsworths Versions," both of which it supplanted.

Concerning Puritan church music in general, Mrs. Earle writes. "Of all the dismal accompaniments of public worship in the early days of New England, the music was the

most helplessly forlorn—not alone from the confused versifications of the psalms which were used, but from the mournful monotony of the few known tunes. The great length of many of the psalms was a fatal barrier to any successful effort to have good singing. Still confused and poor as was the singing, it was a source of pure and unceasing delight to the Puritan colonists—one of the rare pleasures they possessed.

They sang these poor, and for the most part monotonous tunes with a reverential feeling which it is exceedingly difficult for us to understand. They were to them as essential a part of the service as the Holy Scriptures themselves, less the element of authority, and "whenever a Puritan," says Mrs. Earle, "even in road or field heard at a distance the sound of a psalm-tune, though the sacred words might be quite indistinguishable, he doffed his hat and bowed his head in the true presence of God."

Finally came "singing by note" after long and bitter contention, and when this forward step had been established, the way was prepared for the quaint "fuguing" of Billings, the famous Massachusetts tanner and singing-master. This new method of singing was his peculiar "invention" as he termed it, and with true Yankee spirit he naively boasted, that it had "more than twice the power of the old slow tunes." It is interesting and not wholly surprising to learn that Billings

psalm-tunes fulfilled a patriotic as well as spiritual mission, for we are told that during the Revolution their spirited strains were played with drum and fife on many a battle-field. This was a true Cromwellian inspiration.

Mrs. Earles account of the observances of the Sabbath day, independent of the "meeting" itself, is very interesting and full. The "Lords Daye" began in the Puritan community with the descending sun on Saturday. As they found abundant scriptural support for every act and observance, so they found it for this in the words, "The evening and the morning were the first day." Nothing better illustrates the potent influence of the Puritan traditions than the fact that to this day, in many of the remote towns of New England, this observance, somewhat modified, is still maintained.

Concerning the minister or parson himself, his ordination, his authority, his plain speaking, Mrs. Earle has brought together a multitude of facts which shed a curious light on these related subjects. The minister's ordination was quite as important a social as a spiritual function. In Connecticut certainly, as the records show, and probably in Massachusetts, an "ordination ball" was added to the accepted ordination supper, and a liberal amount of cider, punch, beer and grog, seem to have been always provided for this feast. The Rev. Mr. Thacher of Boston,

wrote in his diary on the 20th of May 1681, "This daye the Ordination Beare was brewed." "Many accounts of gay ordination parties" says Mrs. Earle, "have been preserved for us in diaries. Rev. Mr. Smith who was settled in Portland in the early part of the eighteenth century wrote thus in his journal of an ordination which he attended: 'Mr. Foxcroft ordained at New Gloucester. We had a pleasant journey home. Mr. L. was alert and kept us all merry. A jolly ordination. We lost all sight of decorum.'"

One thing which these old records reveal with startling clearness is the prominent part the early New England pulpit took in directing the ordinary affairs of the community as well as its spiritual concerns. The pulpit was to the Puritan community what the press is to modern society. Politics and business, and all the petty details of social life, were discussed as naturally and vigorously as predestination and the ways of "a wonder-working Providence." Eliot, that most noble zealot and missionary and equally noble preacher, delivered phillipics "with boiling zeal" against "the Creature called tobacco"; President Chauncey of Harvard College could preach against "the disfigurement of long, ruffianly hair;" the saintly Roger Williams could instruct the women of his church to wear veils; John Cotton, in opposition, could argue from his pulpit to prove that the wearing of veils was a

sign of their undue subjection, and Increase Mather thought it no loss of dignity to preach against the "Monstrous Periwigs" which made their wearers "resemble ye locusts that came out of ye Bottomless Pit."

"Every natural phenomenon" says Mrs. Earle, "every unusual event called forth a sermon, and the minister could find even in the common events of every day life, plain manifestations of divine wrath and judgment. He preached with solemn delight upon comets and earthquakes, storms and diseases, wonders and scandals, as well as on the standard

'doctrines' and the unpardonable sin."

Without any attempt to analyze his character or his creed, and dealing only with his life on the Sabbath, whose ceremonies, customs and laws were the natural, concrete expression of his deeply religious nature, Mrs. Earle presents the Puritan in his most characteristic aspect. His religious character embodied all that was most powerful and peculiar in him as distinct from other men of his time. In the detail of his manner and environment of worship, we have his character in action—the most comprehensive representation of the man.



THE OHIO SOCIETY, AND OHIO IN NEW YORK.

III.

IN judging the present usefulness and estimating the future possibilities and probable influence of such an organization as the Ohio Society, it must be remembered that the Society, in a certain sense, is yet in its infancy, and perhaps, not yet fully decided upon the permanent adjustment of its affairs and methods. Such an adjustment must be decided upon a basis of experience, having the objects which it is desired to accomplish in view.

A main motive in the organization, suggesting the line of greatest influence and usefulness, was not merely the social pleasure of intercourse and fellowship between the banded Ohioans in New York, but to make the Society a centre of thought, a moral power, an exponent in the heart of the metropolis of all that is characteristic and noble in Ohio and the region which she represents. The Society should stand in the place of a friend and old acquaintance to the western stranger who comes to New York, and should stand in relation to the East, as the permanent expression of the attitude, thought and wishes of the great West.

These objects of the original organizers were so well voiced in the

inaugural address of their first president that I shall quote a few sentences. "We should make something more," said Gen. Ewing, "of such good and abundant material than a mere social club. * * * We found this society because we love Ohio, and would cherish her history, her traditions, her recollections of home and camp and forum. * * * We hope to make it felt in this great field of thought and action, as a generator of wholesome intellectual and moral forces. * * * A pleasant rendezvous * * * where the ideas and policies of East and West may meet in intelligent and friendly encounter, and where sectional prejudice may be worn off in the attrition of social intercourse."

With these aims in view have been undertaken the formation of a Society library which should especially look to the collection and preservation of the traditions and history and biography, relating to Ohio and its section; the practice of having special papers prepared by members of the Society, embodying bits of history or reminiscence, or treating subjects of especial interest and value in keeping with the design of the organization; and the institution of

formal and informal Society dinners, where the elements of sociability, fraternity and the enunciation of thought and sentiment might have the fullest expression and exert the greatest force. It is for the better accomplishment of these ambitions that members of the Ohio Society are now canvassing the advisability of some new arrangement in the matter of a Society home. The subject has been put into the hands of a special committee who will consider various plans, and report that which seems to afford the best facilities to insure progress in the Society's work.

Of the two principal plans suggested in case a change is made, one provides for the acquirement of suitable rooms in a convenient location, to accomodate the Society library, and furnish a reading-room and attractive parlors for resident or visiting members and their friends; and the holding of the annual banquets and other special affairs of the Society, in some suitable hotel, provided as occasion demands. The other plan proposes the acceptance of a suggestion from several other societies or clubs of the city, of a combination of financial resources for the acquirement of quarters so commodious as to furnish special separate parlors for each organization, and a large common banqueting room, better than any of these societies now individually possess, which shall be used by all in turn as they have necessity.

Doubtless each of these plans have advantages, but the members feel in coming to a decision, that they must only look to the welfare of the Society and its increased opportunities in the special lines which inspired its organization. It must be remembered that the society is not a political organization even in the remotest meaning of that term; that its aims so far as they may at any time incidentally and indirectly affect the direction of the affairs of the nation, can only do so as an inspiration to patriotism on the broadest foundations, and that while especially designed to stand as the exponent of a section of the country, its object is to combat rather than encourage feelings of sectionalism, by exhibiting the contrary sentiments. The possibilities before such an organization are very far reaching. To act as the special guardian of the territory which it represents in preserving the scraps of history of the region, which might otherwise be lost, must constitute a most valuable and patriotic service to the entire Union, and merit the recognition which inevitably it will command at the hands of the future historian. And to devote its energies to the task of more closely cementing this great Union of states and diverse interests of various sections, by conveying the best sentiments and aspirations of an important region to the cosmopolitan heart and centre, and in return transmitting the consensus of opinion and

desire from the metropolis to the home country—is a work of patriotism which might well engage the noblest talents.

And yet precisely this is the inevitable significance of such a society in New York city, and must be the inevitable result, if it be conducted in

such a manner that "the ideas and and policies of East and West may meet in intelligent and friendly encounter." The success of such an enterprise must be the sincere hope and desire of every loyal American citizen.

COLGATE HOYT.

AMONG the Ohioans in New York who have made their mark in literature, in journalism, in art and in finance, are many who are still young in years. One of the most successful of these younger men is the subject of the present sketch. Mr. Colgate Hoyt, who is already a well-known figure upon Wall street and a power in financial circles, has been a resident of New York City for about ten years. If it be true, as Bailey says, that "We live in deeds, not words," his achievements fitly represent a life-time, and yet those who know him feel that he is still standing upon the threshold of his career. The structure of his success is not only conspicuous, but solid; for ability, fidelity, industry and integrity are its broad foundation stones. One of his intimate friends has furnished us with the materials for this brief sketch.

Mr. Hoyt was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 2d, 1849, and comes from a family held in the high-

est esteem in that city. His father, Hon. James M. Hoyt, formerly an active and successful practitioner at the bar, is loved and honored in the community in which he lives, and his mother, lately deceased, possessed qualities so rare and a character so sweet and yet so strong that her influence extended far beyond her immediate circle, and her memory is her children's most precious legacy.

Colgate began his education in the private and public schools of Cleveland and, at the age of fifteen, entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, with the intention of preparing for college. Owing to a trouble in one of his eyes, which was injured when he was a child, he was compelled to discontinue his studies at the end of a year and, returning home, began a business career. At the age of sixteen, he entered the hardware store of Messrs. Colwells & Bingham, in Cleveland, with his foot upon the lowest round of the ladder. He regards this somewhat arduous



Colgate Hoyt

experience of his early life as the foundation of his business success. His father's influence and means might have procured for him a pleasanter and less exacting employment, but probably not one which would have afforded him a better training. His eagerness and faithfulness were rewarded by rapid promotion and, when he left its employ, the firm, as a token of regard, presented him with a gold watch-chain, which he even now wears with affectionate pride. Mr. Hoyt then entered the office of his father and soon became his partner in the business of buying and selling real estate, principally of outlying property surrounding the rapidly growing city. He devoted himself for several years to this business with marked success and yet holds substantial real estate interests in Cleveland.

In 1877, at the solicitation of eastern capitalists, with whom he had a wide acquaintance, Mr. Hoyt added to his other occupation the business of loaning money on real estate security in the West. This branch of his business grew rapidly and, in 1881, when he left Cleveland for New York, had assumed such large proportions that he had under his management investments amounting to several millions of dollars.

In 1878 he took a trip over the Northern Pacific Railroad to its then western terminus at Bismarck, and, there leaving the railroad, proceeded by boat up the Missouri and Yellow-

stone rivers to Fort Keogh, from which point he accompanied a large military detachment, commanded by his brother-in-law, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, which marched overland through the Yellowstone Valley into the National Park. On his return he wrote a report on the possibilities of the Northern Pacific Railroad, predicting its completion and the advisability of investing in its securities, which predictions have been more than verified.

In May, 1881, at the solicitation of Mr. John B. Trevor and Mr. James B. Colgate, he moved permanently to New York City, taking up his residence in Yonkers on the Hudson, and became a member of the long established and well-known firm of James B. Colgate & Co., whose office for many years was at No. 47 Wall street. Aided by his untiring energy and enterprise, the business of the firm of James B. Colgate & Co. rapidly increased until it became one of the most extensive transacted in the street. Mr. Hoyt was vigilant, active, aggressive, intelligent and honest, and having the confidence of his associates and customers, conducted transactions of the greatest magnitude and responsibility. His business and social relations with leading financiers, among whom may be numbered Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Mr. William Rockefeller, Mr. Charles L. Colby, Mr. James B. Colgate and many others, have been, and are, close and intimate. But his

labors were not confined to the business of the firm simply.

In 1882 he was appointed, by President Arthur, a Government Director of the Union Pacific Railway, and he remained in that position of trust and influence until the end of Mr. Arthur's term, and, for several years he was Chairman of the Government Board. Meanwhile he was engaged in other large railroad enterprises.

In 1884, his friends having become interested in the Wisconsin Central property, Mr. Hoyt formed an association with Messrs. Charles L. Colby and Edwin H. Abbot, respectively President and Vice-president of the Wisconsin Central Company, and its entire stock and that of all its branch lines was placed in the names of these gentlemen as trustees. The Wisconsin Central Railroad was then an unfinished property, with no valuable connections, starting at the small town of Portage and running north-erly through a wilderness to Lake Superior; but Mr. Colby, whose father had originated the enterprise, and who believed implicitly in the future of the property and had worked for its development with undaunted courage and persistence, and with a unique ability, convinced Mr. Hoyt of the correctness of his conclusions and found in him an able, active and successful associate. The tasks which these two men have jointly accomplished are simply Herculean; they admirably supplement one another

and are not only partners, but devoted friends. Shortly after their association, the money was raised and a road built from the Wisconsin Central to St. Paul to connect this system with the Northern Pacific on the west, and from a point on the Wisconsin Central near Milwaukee to the City of Chicago, which made the Central a through line from Chicago to Lake Superior and St. Paul. Being unable to perfect satisfactory terminal arrangements at Chicago, Messrs. Colby, Abbot and Hoyt went to work to provide a terminal railroad there. The undertaking was simply gigantic, and, for several years, the burden of this great enterprise rested mainly on the shoulders of these three men. They met with many discouragements and overcame numerous obstacles; but as a result of their steady purpose to carry to a successful issue what they had begun, the great terminal railroad known as the Chicago and Northern Pacific Railroad has been developed and completed. It owns the finest passenger station, not only in the City of Chicago, but, in the country, and its magnificent facilities are used, under favorable arrangements, by the Wisconsin Central Company, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, the St. Paul and Kansas City Railroad Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and it yet has ample room to accommodate several more trunk lines. Much of the

success of this great enterprise was due to the unfailing energy and persistent efforts of Mr. Hoyt.

In 1884, on the election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency, Mr. Hoyt resigned his position as Government Director of the Union Pacific Railway Company; but at the earnest instance of his colleagues, backed up by a large interest in the stock, he was soon elected a Company Director of that road. This position he held for several years, until, because of his disagreement with the policy and management of the President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, he resigned from the Board, and he and his friends transferred their interests in the stock of the Union Pacific to the preferred stock of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Mr. Hoyt never forgot his early trip over that portion of the country which this road traverses and assured his friends that the future of the Northern Pacific property was in every way brighter and more certain than that of the Union Pacific. He believed that the productiveness of the country through which it passed and the value of its land grant rendered its stock one of the most inviting investments for unemployed capital.

In the meantime, Mr. Hoyt had been elected a Director of the Oregon & Transcontinental Company and of the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company and had served on the Executive Committees of both Boards and, shortly after, he was elected a

Director of the Northern Pacific Company, which position he has continued to hold and is now also a member of both the Executive and Finance Committees of that Board and Vice-President of some of the branch lines of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, among them the Duluth & Manitoba. Soon after becoming a member of the Board of Directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, Mr. Hoyt saw the great need of additional equipment in order to take care of its constantly growing business. The credit of the Northern Pacific was taxed, and its resources required in the other development of the property. How to furnish the large means necessary for this greatly needed increase in equipment was the question. Mr. Hoyt met the emergency by raising three millions of dollars for this purpose and organized the Northwest Equipment Company of Minnesota, of which company he is still president and treasurer. In 1889 he became Vice-President of the Oregon & Transcontinental Company, of which Mr. Villard was president. Through adverse legislation in the State of Oregon, it became necessary either to wind up the affairs of the company or to transfer its assets and property to another corporation organized under a more liberal and favorable charter. Mr. Villard undertook the responsible task of re-organization with his customary skill, ability and energy, when suddenly in July, 1890, he was so prostrated by

the death of his son that he was compelled, under the advice of his physician, to give up business and go abroad for rest. Mr. Hoyt reluctantly, in addition to all his other duties, took up the unfinished labor and, within sixty days, the necessary assent of stockholders having been procured, the assets and property of the Oregon & Transcontinental Company were transferred to the North American Company, and the stock of the former was exchanged for that of the latter, organized under the laws of New Jersey with a liberal charter. The rapidity and harmony with which this re-organization was accomplished mark it as unique in the history of Wall Street and, for his untiring efforts toward its accomplishment, Mr. Hoyt deserves the highest praise. In the Fall of that year, the great financial stringency in the money market caused embarrassment to many large and influential concerns, among whom were brokers conducting important transactions in the so-called Villard securities. It seemed for a time as though disaster must overwhelm the North American Company by reason of the failure of its financial agents. Mr. Hoyt and his associates worked day and night during these trying times, and although the rate of interest was exorbitantly high and the North American Company was a borrower to the extent of millions, its credit was saved and its solvency was preserved. This crowning success was largely due to

Mr. Hoyt who, as the responsible head of the company, stood at the helm.

In December, 1890, Mr. Villard returned from Europe and the solvency of the North American Company having been preserved, Mr. Hoyt, worn out with the strain of the terrible ordeal through which he had passed, insisted upon retiring from the Board and resigned his position as Vice-President, which, at his imperative request, was reluctantly accepted.

At this juncture, Mr. J. B. Trevor, one of Mr. Hoyt's partners in the firm of J. B. Colgate & Co., and his life-long friend, suddenly died, and this necessitated the winding up of the large business of the firm. On the death of Mr. Trevor and the dissolution of the partnership, Mr. Hoyt retired from the stock brokerage business and sought rest in Cuba, returning in the spring greatly invigorated and restored to health. But his trip to Cuba was not solely for recreation. He went partly to examine some iron ore properties there, in which he is largely interested.

The Spanish-American Iron Company, of which Mr. Hoyt is Treasurer and Director, is the owner of the famous Lola Group of iron mines situated in the Island of Cuba. Mr. S. P. Ely, now a resident of Cleveland, Ohio, and who was intimately connected with the opening and development of many of the largest iron

mines in the Lake Superior region, among them the Lake Superior, the Republic and the Minnesota, some two years since visited Cuba and was so struck with the richness and value of the ore deposits of the Lola Group of mines that he purchased them and, in connection with Mr. Charles L. Colby, Mr. Hoyt and some of their associates, organized The Spanish-American Iron Company, which has a capital stock of, \$5,000,000. The mines are now being rapidly developed, harbor facilities are being constructed and it is expected that, within a comparatively few months, this company will become a large shipper of Bessemer ore of high grade and quality, most of which will be transported to the eastern States in the ships of The American Steel Barge Company, of which Mr. Hoyt is President and Treasurer. The rapid development of this latter company, which has been largely due to the able management of Mr. Hoyt, is most surprising.

In 1888, Captain Alexander McDougall of Duluth, who formerly commanded vessels of the ordinary type plying the Great Lakes, had secured patents on peculiar forms of steel barges and steamers, now known throughout the world as the "whalebacks." Captain McDougall had tried, for several years, to get capital enlisted in the development of his ideas; but his departure was so radical from all preconceived notions that his efforts in this direction were

unsuccessful until he brought the matter to the attention of Mr. Hoyt. Mr. Hoyt, who, with his associates, own and control the great Colby iron mines on the Gogebic Range in the Lake Superior region, was so impressed with the advantages of the McDougall style of boat for the transportation of iron ore that he personally bought the patents of Captain McDougall and organized the American Steel Barge Company, with a capital stock of \$500,000, of which company he is the President and Treasurer and Captain McDougall the General Manager. Although, at first, this novel type of vessel was considerably ridiculed and all sorts of predictions made by mariners and ship builders, that the "whalebacks" would be totally unseaworthy, they have triumphantly stood the test of a severe experience and are now an assured success, and Captain McDougall's dream has been more than realized. In two short years from the organization of the company, its capital has been increased from \$500,000 to \$4,000,000; it has the largest fleet of barges and steamers of any one company on the Great Lakes and owns and operates the largest ship yard, which is situated at West Superior, Wisconsin; it is now building a branch yard at Everett, on Puget Sound, for the Pacific trade, and has steamers and barges on the Atlantic coast engaged in the transportation of coal. The steam barge "C. W. Wetmore" in the summer of 1891

successfully crossed the Atlantic, carrying grain from Duluth to Liverpool, and returning in ballast to New York, and demonstrated the seaworthiness of this type of boat, both when loaded and when light. The first steamer built by the company, the "Colgate Hoyt," has now been in operation on the Great Lakes for over a year and has astonished everybody by its economy of operation and the small horse-power required to attain good speed with heavy cargoes and heavily loaded consorts in tow. It is already predicted by many of the best vessel experts that the "whaleback" type of ships will, in time, revolutionize the water-carrying trade of the world.

In 1889 the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, which was then leased to The Missouri Pacific, failed to pay the interest on its bonds, the lease was forfeited and the road put into the hands of receivers and its securities greatly depreciated. Mr. Hoyt's friends were largely interested in the bonds and stock of this company and, after five different committees had essayed to reorganize it and put it on a paying basis, Mr. Hoyt, in connection with Mr. Olcott, President of The Central Trust Company of New York, and Mr. Enos, President of the railway company, formed a reorganization committee known as the Olcott Committee, into which all the others were finally merged. In the face of great difficulties a successful reorganization was effected, nearly

\$30,000,000 of money raised and the road put upon a sound financial basis. On the death of Mr. Enos last winter, Mr. Hoyt was urgently pressed, to accept the Presidency or Chairmanship of the Board, but declined for the reason that he did not feel warranted in adding this responsibility to the many he was already carrying. He still however, retains his position on the Board, and is a member of the Executive Committee.

His success in these varied enterprises has been simply phenomenal. It is due of course, to his ability and industry, but it is also due to the significant fact that he uniformly inspires confidence in his associates and that his character for integrity is above reproach. Mr. Hoyt has not confined his attention simply to business. He is emphatically a "many sided" man. While living in Cleveland he took an active interest in the organization of one of the finest cavalry companies in America—The First Cleveland Troop—noted for its escort of President Garfield at his inauguration.

He has traveled extensively through Europe and visited every State and Territory but one in this country; he is an admirable raconteur and possesses social qualities of a high order; he has been a useful member of the Ohio Society since its organization, belongs to the Union League Club, the Fencers Club, and to the Seawanhaka Corinthian Yacht Club of New York, to the Country Club of Westchester County, and to

the Oyster Bay Yacht Club. He is fond of horses and of yachting and keenly enjoys such recreation as he can find time for. He has lately purchased a farm near Oyster Bay, on Long Island, where he is building a summer residence. Mr. Hoyt however, has not allowed the demands of business to make him neglectful of higher duties.

At the age of sixteen he united with the First Baptist Church of Cleveland Ohio, and has always been a consistent Christian, deeply interested in all religious matters. For many years he was active in Sabbath School work in northern Ohio, was superintendent of the Sabbath School of his home church until shortly before he came to New York, and under his management it became one of the best organized and largest Sabbath Schools in Cleveland.

He was active in the Young Men's Christian Association work and materially helped in the purchase of its first building and home in Cleveland.

In educational matters he also takes a lively interest. He is one of the trustees of the University of Rochester, of Brown University and of Vassar College. He delights to aid, as far as he is able, all needy and worthy churches, especially in the great northwest, and within the last year he formed a syndicate, to which he was a generous subscriber, which

furnished funds for the building of the "Chapel Car Evangel," which is a church on wheels, and by means of which a great missionary work is being done along the lines of railroads with which Mr. Hoyt is connected; religious interest is being awakened, and the formation of churches in the small pioneer towns aided. He is now a member of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church of New York City, having lately removed his residence from Yonkers where, for ten years, he worshipped with his family at the Warburton Avenue Baptist Church.

In 1873 Mr. Hoyt married Miss Lida W. Sherman, the third daughter Judge Charles T. Sherman and a niece of General W. T. Sherman and Senator John Sherman. Five children have blessed this union, four of whom are now living. His married life has been singularly happy, and much of his success has been due no doubt, to the inspiration and restfulness of his home, for—"A man's best things are nearest him."

He is still in the prime of life, being only in his forty-second year. The successes which have come to him though shining, are not after all, surprising. Industry, ability, perseverance, vigilance and integrity have but earned their fitting rewards; "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before Kings."

WILLIAM FORD UPSON; SECRETARY OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

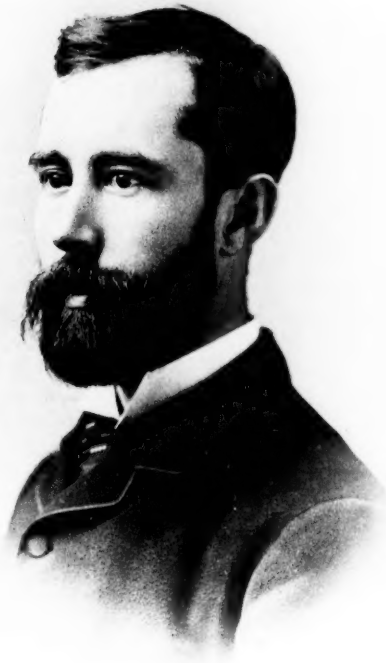
The last election of officers of the Ohio Society, which occurred in the month of December, 1891, resulted in the unanimous choice of William Ford Upson as Secretary. In point of years Mr. Upson is one of the younger members, but rare grace of mind and person, and an enthusiastic appreciation of the value of the Society and interest in its welfare, finely qualify him to render acceptable service in the capacity in which he has been chosen.

Mr. Upson is a lawyer—one of that class of whom Ohio has furnished a considerable number, who, growing to manhood in the Buckeye State, have removed to the metropolis of the continent where opportunities offered for careers commensurate with their aspirations. He was born at Akron, Ohio, March 10th, 1857. His father, Judge William H. Upson, himself a native of Ohio, and of New England descent, has spent many years of his life in the service of his country in several positions of honor and trust. Judge Upson represented the Cleveland district in Congress during the first term of Grant's administration. Afterwards he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and later was made Chief Justice of the Ohio Circuit Court, a position which he holds to-day. Mr. Upson's

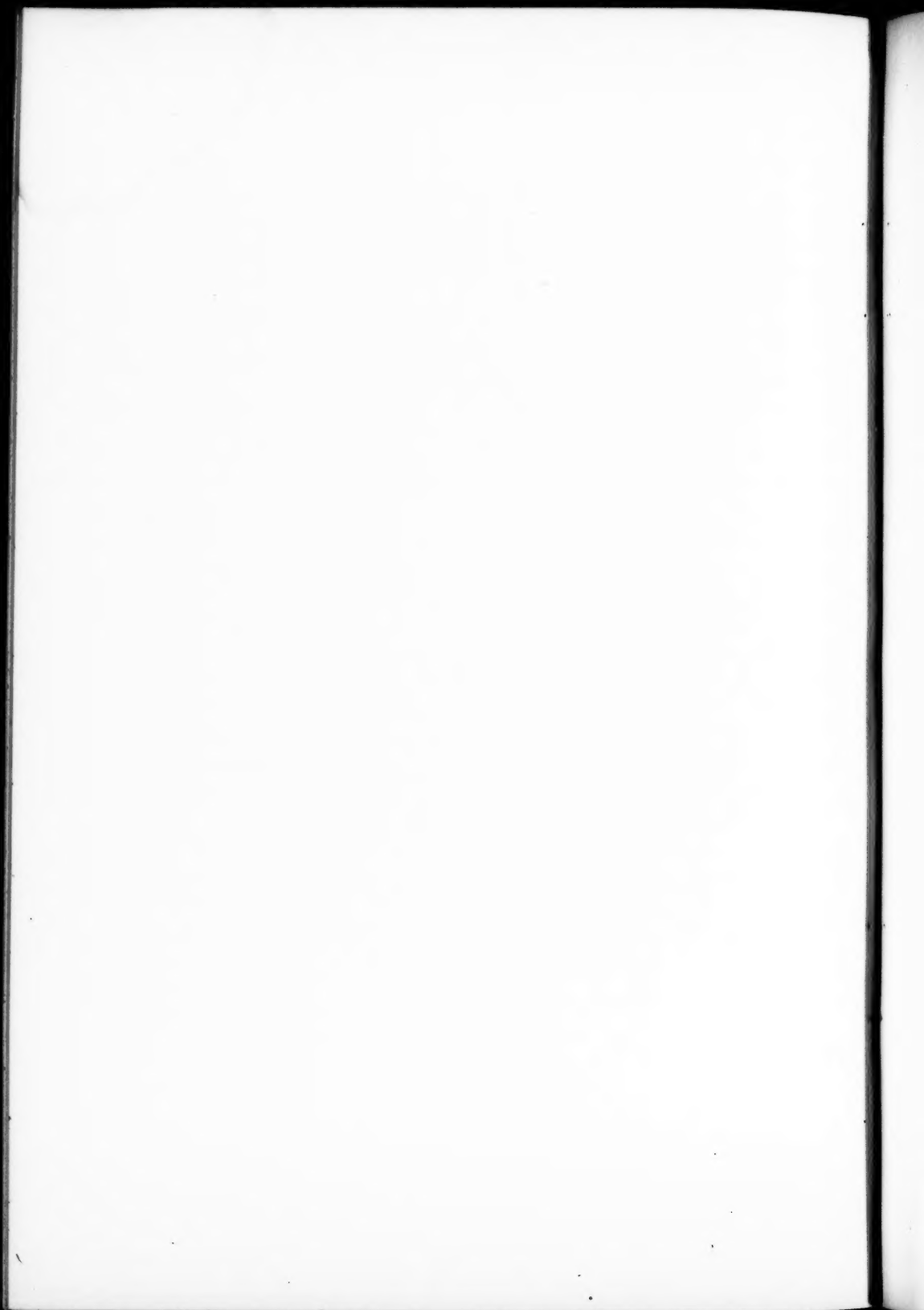
mother, *nee* Julia Ford, is related to the family of the late Governor Tod of Ohio.

Young Upson received the elements of his education in the public schools of his native town, and then entered the classical course in Western Reserve College, now Adelbert, in Cleveland, graduating in 1878. He stood well "all around" in his studies without making any special exertion to excel, and graduated as second honor man of his class. He took a special course in German, with a view to prosecuting his studies abroad in the lines of his chosen profession of the law. Accordingly, in 1879, after a year of legal study in his father's office in Akron, he visited Germany and spent the two succeeding years in the Universities of Berlin and Gottingen.

This was not his first experience in Europe. Since his fourteenth year he had occasionally enjoyed the advantage of a trip abroad with some member of his family. He visited Russia in the winter preceding the assassination of the late Czar, at a time when that unfortunate empire was in a state of uneasiness and half-stifled agitation. These glimpses of the Old World had been sufficient to give him some adequate conception of the value of a training in the magnificent German institutions, as a



Mr. Ford Upson



means of enlarging the vision and providing an intellectual balance-wheel to the spirit of business "push" and enterprise which characterized his own country.

The special studies which he prosecuted in the universities mentioned, were Roman law, philosophy and history. The first of these provided a training which could not be obtained by the study of American law, which is comparatively new and subject to frequent changes. For the processes of analysis and deduction, Roman law, on the contrary, presents a complete and unchanging system; and the Germans, who regard Roman law as the basis of modern German law, in the same way that they regard the German Empire as the legitimate descendant and representative of ancient Rome, have made the study of the Roman statutes an important part of their law curriculum. They have analyzed, and so to speak dissected, the ancient system in a minute fashion which would not be possible with a modern judicial system in actual operation in the courts.

After this thorough training and preparation for his life's work Mr.

Upson returned to Ohio, and was admitted to the bar of that State in 1882. The following year he removed to New York city and began practice as a member of the firm of Scott and Upson. In 1885 he was married to Grace Hazlett, daughter of the late Judge Isaac Hazlett, of Canton, Ohio, and two boys have been born to them. After his marriage, he made his last visit to Europe with his wife, devoting a summer to the trip.

In the practice of his profession he has given special attention to the intricacies of commercial and corporation law, and a large part of the firm's business has been along these lines. In the Fayerweather will contest of some months ago Mr. Upson was enabled to do good service for his Alma Mater, Adelbert College, the case being finally so adjusted that this institution will receive the large sum which Mr. Fayerweather had bequeathed to it.

Scarcely yet in the prime of life, and with his life's work only well begun, Mr. Upson promises an honorable career of which not only his many friends in Ohio, but the many in New York may well be proud.

JAMES HARRISON KENNEDY.

HON. NATHANIEL PETER HILL.

EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR OF COLORADO.

NATHANIEL P. HILL was born February 18, 1832, in the brick house on the old homestead, three miles east of Montgomery, Orange County, N. Y., which was first occupied by his grandfather, Captain Peter Hill in 1779. The first appearance of the family in America was about 1730, when Nathaniel Hill, the great grandfather, who was born in 1705, came to this country from the County of Cavan, Ireland. Nathaniel P. Hill, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a man of much prominence in Orange County, and Nathaniel was the third of seven children, and at the time of his father's death was ten years of age. His elder brother, James, for five years managed the farm, and then went to Yale College, where he graduated. Nathaniel succeeded his brother, and continued in the management of the property until he was twenty-one years of age. During this period he was, a part of the time, a student at Montgomery Academy. The responsibility of the management of so considerable an estate, thrown on the shoulders of one so young, undoubtedly developed early the business qualities which have

distinguished his career since; the power of self-control and the habits of industry. At this time, having determined to avail himself of better facilities for education, his attention was drawn to Brown University, Providence, and he decided to enter that institution, which he did in February, 1853. At that time the professor of chemistry was George I. Chace, who, with the exception of President Wayland, was regarded as the ablest member of the faculty. He had a remarkably clear, strong intellect, and was as much at home in the study of metaphysics as in the study of the natural sciences. Mr. Hill was fortunate in beginning his scientific studies under a man of such acute mind, and breadth of vision. Professor Chace, recognizing Mr. Hill's exceptional qualifications both as a student and as a teacher, in 1856, before the completion of his studies secured his appointment as assistant to the Professor in chemistry, and in 1858, as Instructor in chemistry, applied to the Arts. In 1859 he was appointed full professor in the same department, and occupied the chair with distinguished success until 1864.

In many respects the period from

1859 to 1864, was the most interesting and satisfactory of his life. He began to teach just at the time when attention was turning to the study of chemistry. His practical tendencies and thoroughness of method led him to emphasize the laboratory work, and he was continually broadening this feature. He soon made an impression as a scientific man, not only on his associates but on the manufacturers of Rhode Island.

But in 1864 an event occurred which changed the whole tenor of his life. A tract of land in Colorado called the Gilpin Grant, was offered to certain capitalists in Providence. They requested Professor Hill to go to Colorado and make a report on the representations regarding its geological formations, its mineral deposits and the general character of its soil. At this time there was no railroad west of the Missouri River, and he went to Colorado by coach, arriving in Denver in June, 1864. He made the investigations for which the journey was undertaken, and before returning visited the mines of Gilpin County, which were the only mines in the territory worked at that time. He was impressed with the waste which the methods then used for the reduction of ore involved. At this time there were no smelters and no mills that could treat the refractory ores without great loss of gold. He then conceived the idea of establishing works which could successfully treat these ores. He repeated his visits to

Colorado twice in 1865, and in the winter of that and the succeeding year made two trips to Europe and spent several months in Swansea, Wales; Freiberg, Saxony and in other places, examining the methods there employed for treating ores for gold and silver. Professor Hill also spent the winter of 1866 and 1867 in Swansea for the purpose of experimenting with ores. After satisfying himself fully of the feasibility of smelting the ores of Colorado, he resolved at once to organize the company which has held for twenty-four years, a prominent place throughout the entire mining regions of the west—the Boston & Colorado Smelting Company.

At the age of thirty-two, after achieving success as professor of chemistry in one of the oldest institutions of learning in the land, and making his department almost the first in the country, he started out in an entirely new career. A party of Boston and Providence capitalists, eagerly took up the new scheme and the Company was organized in the spring of 1867.

When the Company first began operations the ores were concentrated by smelting into matte containing gold, silver and copper, and this product was sent to Swansea, Wales. In 1873, owing to the inability of the Company to make satisfactory terms with the gold and silver refiners of Europe, it became necessary for the Boston & Colorado Smelting Com-

pany to separate the metals from the matte and refine them. The establishment of works for this purpose may be justly said, next to the founding of the works in 1867, to be the most important event in the history of the Company.

Professor Hill was the first to successfully treat the refractory ores. There have been hardy and earnest prospectors; there have been competent engineers; and there have been able mine managers, who have done a great deal to develop the mining interest of Colorado, but Professor Hill stands almost alone in the work he has done to put mining on a sure and sound basis and enable the miner to obtain the largest returns for his labor. He has had able assistants, particularly in Professor Richard Pearce. But to Professor Hill after all, belongs the credit of conceiving these works, of raising the money to start them, of devising methods and of successfully conducting the business of the Company.

At thirty-two Professor Hill had accomplished what to many would have been a life's work as a teacher of chemistry. At forty-six he had established an entirely new business which revolutionized mining in Colorado.

But Professor Hill was now about to enter a new field, where he has won a success, not less than he obtained in the two other occupations of his life.

In the summer of 1878, Senator Chaffee decided not to be a candidate

for re-election as United States Senator. When Professor Hill's name was suggested as the successor of Senator Chaffee, it was felt that he would be the most intelligent representative of Colorado's chief industry, mining, that could be sent to represent her in the Senate. He was easily nominated at the Republican caucus in January, 1879, on the fourth ballot, and was elected for a term of six years, beginning March 4, 1879. Measured by the usual standards he was not likely to win distinction in the Senate in his first term. He never had taken any part in national politics, had none of the arts of the politician and no experience in practical politics. But Senator Hill had been successful in everything he had undertaken, because of qualities which make a man a success in every position of life, and during his term in the Senate, the most important questions that came before the Senate were of a business character, and an opportunity was at once afforded him to show his ability.

Senator Hill will always be regarded as the originator of what will probably prove to be the best plan for the establishment of the Postal Telegraph in this country. He made a careful study of the system of Postal Telegraphy in Great Britain and of the history of the corporations which controlled the telegraph business of this country.

The Bill prepared by him, well equipped as he was with facts, will probably be the basis of any future

legislation on this subject. His elaborate speech in support of this Bill, delivered in the Senate, January 14, 1884, attracted the widest attention, while the exhaustive report made by the committee of which he was the chairman, is still the storehouse for information on this subject.

His speeches on the silver question, however, must always be regarded by the careful student as the most important part of his Senatorial career. These speeches were characterized by exhaustive research, close reasoning and irresistible logic. Previous to the discussion of the silver question by Senator Hill, the speeches of the friends of silver had not always commanded the respect which the subject deserved. Senator's Hill's first speech on this subject was delivered June 20, 1882, in answer to Senator Sherman. No resume of this speech can easily be given, but it was based on well ascertained principles illumined by an array of stubborn facts and accurate information, and conducted with calm reasoning and relentless logic. It was his first carefully prepared speech. The subject matter was of so great importance, and the respect for the speaker so general, that he had the close attention of the Senate during its delivery. From this time on, he was regarded as the leading champion of silver in the Senate. Senator Sherman admitted that this speech was the strongest argument in favor of silver he had yet heard.

One critic said: "A scholarly speech was, of course, to be expected from an ex-professor of Brown University, but Mr. Hill has given the country something a good deal more and better than that. He has discussed a great question calmly, dispassionately and with a most thorough and masterly statesmanship. His speech will be one of the landmarks of currency debates." The speech attracted a great deal of attention abroad. The London Economist, the leading financial authority of the world, reviewed the speech at length in its issue of August 26, 1882, saying: "The speech puts the wants and desires of the supporters of silver remonetization in so clear a light that we cannot do better than to give our readers an outline of its contents."

Quotations from papers and authorities of widely different sympathies could be given to show that Senator Hill had lifted the discussion of this question to its proper level, and that what has been said regarding the ability with which he discussed this question in the Senate is fully warranted.

In his work in the Senate he was not a frequent speaker, but the speeches that he did deliver gave him a wide reputation. These addresses had a breadth of comprehension and a largeness of purpose that indicated the statesman.

His opposition to the arrogance of corporations and to the tyranny of monopolies was constant and in-

variable. He had the sagacity to predict what we now see realized in the vast combinations of capital, under the name of trusts.

There was a steady growth in his senatorial career. No selfish interest ever did or ever was thought to influence his public acts. He gave up all active management of business and devoted himself entirely to his work in the Senate. True to his State, true to the interests of the people he represented, and his own high sense of honor and duty, he showed himself a worthy descendant of his ancestors who rendered patriotic, useful, and unselfish services in a less important sphere of action. His failure of re-election was no discredit to him. If his Senatorial career had been characterized by less statesmanship and more politics, he might have still been in public life. Even his opponents admitted the integrity, ability and devotion with which he represented Colorado in the Senate.

On retiring into private life, he turned his attention almost exclusively to business affairs. He took again an active part in the management of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company, and engaged in several new important business operations.

To know Senator Hill well it is necessary to see him in his family relations, which are remarkably happy. He married Miss Alice Hale in Providence, in July, 1860. He has three children, a son, Crawford, and two daughters.

All his social enjoyments are in his home or in the company of his family. This, naturally, has introduced a confidential relationship between the different members of the family and a personal loyalty that is not often seen.

This sketch, which so inadequately tells the story of Senator Hill's life is long enough to indicate his intellectual ability and sterling qualities of character. It is seldom that one man has achieved such distinguished success in three different fields of endeavor. Usually a change in a career means that there has been a failure, but in all three of his occupations, in professional teaching, in business and in public life he has had a successful career, finishing up the work he undertook. A great many men who have achieved success have obtained their most valuable business knowledge from failure, but from the beginning of Senator Hill's career to this time, he has not touched any enterprise of which he has not made a success. The reason is apparent to those who know him. In the first place, he inherited qualities which make strong men. His early life on the farm developed self-reliant qualities. He never half understands a thing or starts out in any enterprise until he sees the end. He has always been careful and conservative in business matters. Though living in a land where speculation is so rife, he has been satisfied to amass his fortune through the slower though surer

methods of the ordinary channels of business. Not the least factor in his success is his great physical endurance. Few men have been strong enough to work year after year the number of hours a day that Senator Hill has. Hence, he has always been able to make the best and fullest use of his mental powers. Though, at

the present time, fifty-nine years of age, he is still in the prime of life, with none of his faculties impaired and his judgment clearer and stronger because of large experience in nearly every phase of business and public life.

B. W. STEELE.





EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

The American Historical Association held its eighth annual meeting in Washington, December 29-31, 1891. A member sends the following notice of the meeting: The president, Hon. William Wirt Henry of Richmond, Va., read the opening address, taking as his subject "The Influences that went to make the Virginia of the Revolution." He was followed by Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett of Baltimore, in an admirably calm and thorough paper on "The Virginia Secession Movement." Pres. Lyon G. Tyler of William and Mary College, read the concluding paper which gave some interesting facts from the records of an old Virginian County (York.) Thus curiously enough the first session of the Association was devoted entirely to Virginia history. Four other sessions were held and a large number of papers read—indeed, it would seem too large a number for the time allotted. There was also too little discussion, which would seem to indicate that the Committee on Programme should introduce a slight modification of existing arrangements. Among the papers read, special attention should be called to one on "Henry Clay, the first Political Speaker of the House" by Miss Mary Parker Follett of Quincy, Massachusetts. Professor Barrett Wendell's dissection of the Boston Puritans was also interesting on account of its matter as well as its epigrammatic qualities.

The attendance on the meetings was good, though perhaps not so large as usual. At the closing session it was resolved to meet at Chicago in the summer of 1893, under the presidency of Dr. James B. Angell of the University of Michigan. The Association may congratulate itself upon the success of its work, not the least part of which will be found to consist in the friendly relations which American historians are enabled to form with one another under its auspices.

By the recent settlement of a New Jersey estate, a letter written by Rembrandt Peale, the painter, in March, 1854, a few years before his death, has been brought to light. It gives some interesting details concerning the painting of the famous portrait of Washington which was acquired by Congress and now adorns the capitol. The picture was painted by Peale when but eighteen years of age.

"When Washington sat to me in 1795, the latter part of September," runs the letter, "he came to my rooms at 7 o'clock; each time, as he entered, in the act of putting his watch in his fob, thus giving me an example of punctuality. My father, an old acquaintance, kept him in conversation, which enabled me to study his countenance. It was a period of some anxiety with him, as he was hesitating whether or not to sign Jay's treaty with England; and further, he was

doubtless disturbed by the publication of forged letters, which it was asserted were taken on the person of a runaway servant. No one ventured to speak with him on the subject, and he would not condescend, unasked, to deny them. My uncle, James Peale, a zealous politician, at the second sitting he gave me, bluntly addressed him: 'General, did you write those letters?' To which he replied, 'I never lost any letters. No servant of mine ever ran away from me.' He talked at ease on other subjects, but my uncle went out, telling his (Washington's) answer to everybody he knew, and in two hours all Philadelphia was relieved of scandal."

The excitement over John Jay's treaty was at its height at the time the portrait was painted. Jay was burned in effigy in Boston. Edmund Randolph, Washington's Secretary of State, had just been retired from the cabinet, on account of the intercepting of some despatches of the French minister. In view of the crisis he was passing through at the time, the Peale portrait is especially interesting, as contrasted with the Stuart picture, executed later on.

The "New Haven Palladium" is to be highly commended for its enterprise in gathering local traditions and scraps of history pertaining to its neighborhood. It maintains an historical column under the appropriate heading, "In Years Gone By," in which it presents to its readers many an interesting legend or episode of the past. In a recent issue it speaks of an engraving in the New Haven Historical Society rooms of a portrait of a wild African chieftain, known as Cinque or Cinquez. The original, painted by National Jocelyn, is now the property of Robert Purvis of Philadelphia.

A very romantic story is woven about this Cinque. Although an ignorant savage, he was a born leader of commanding presence, whose resolute spirit and energetic performance remind us of Mrs. Stowe's and George

W. Cable's dusky heroes—Dread of the Dismal Swamp and Bras Coupe. He was kidnapped with others of his tribe on the west coast of Africa and brought to Havana in the spring of 1839. They were sold to two Cubans, Senors Buiz and Montez, who took them unshackled aboard a little coasting schooner—the now famous *Amistad*—en route for another Cuban port. For venturing to help themselves to the scant supply of provisions and water aboard, the poor wretches were whipped and finally told by the cook, in a stupid joke, that they were to be killed and eaten.

This aroused Cinque. He urged his companions, since they must die anyway, to make a strike for liberty. The attempt was made on the second night out. Some of the negroes had armed themselves with large knives or cane-cutters. In the melee the captain of the schooner died, after he had killed one assailant, by a stroke of Cinque's sinewy arm. The cook paid the forfeit of his life for his own ill-timed pleasantry, by the same hand. Montez, one of the Cuban owners, fell severely wounded. Buiz, the other owner, and Antonio, the cabin boy, were securely bound. The rest of the crew, fleeing for their lives, escaped in a boat. A painting of this scene by Hewins, ten by fifteen feet in size, hangs in the New Haven Historical Society rooms.

Cinque placed Buiz and Montez at the wheel by turns, directing them to sail eastward. They did so, perforce, by day; but at night cunningly turned the prow to the north. Two months of this zigzag sailing brought them off Montank Point, Long Island, whence a United States cutter conveyed them to New Haven. This affair was the occasion of an international broil. The Spanish Government demanded the blacks as mutineers, and President Van Buren seemed inclined at first to deliver them over. But popular sympathy was aroused and money was provided for their defense. Such men as Governor Roger

S. Baldwin and John Quincy Adams, championed their cause. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and finally in March, 1841, the brave negroes were unconditionally released. Funds were raised to convey them to Africa. Several of them had seemed converted to Christianity, but when returned to their native jungles, nearly all, and Cinque with the rest, relapsed into savagery.

The coming Columbian Fair has given impetus to a vast amount of historical research of the most interesting character. Under this same incentive we are surprised to learn how easy it is to "discover" veritable historical relics. Three newspaper accounts have come under our notice lately of bells that are certainly entitled to be called historic, if the accounts are at all authentic. We would like it better if the stories with all their startling variations did not bear such a surprising resemblance to each other. It is not every day that we find ship's bells becoming church bells, and vice-versa. But we give the facts for what they are worth, leaving each reader to accept them or to remain skeptical as he chooses. The first bell is said to be now in daily use in a factory in Saylesville, R. I. It has, as is claimed, an interesting history; which it certainly is, if true. About four inches from its crown, a legend runs around it to the following effect: "*Peter Secest, Amsterdam, Anno 1263, Fecit.*" The account then proceeds:

"The date, together with other well-authenticated facts, lead to the belief that the bell was long used in a convent belfry in England, and was taken therefrom for public use during the Reformation." Then follows a most romantic story in which this same Peter Secest's bell appears on board of the Constitution in her famous fight with the *Guerriere*—and rings the hour on board of "*Old Ironsides*," after the *Guerriere* has surrendered.

From this pinnacle of glory it descends, by the account, to the ignominy of a scrap heap

in a great navy yard—to reappear once more to do service in a factory at Saylesville.

Another bell has a story hardly less romantic, not to say marvelous, and enjoys the added advantage of standing in close connection with the historic personage whose name is now and will be, till the fall of 1893, in everybody's mouth. We are transferred from Rhode Island to New Jersey, and find the world-renowned Alhambra and the great Isabella of Castile, brought into curious juxtaposition with an African Methodist Church and its worthy but dusky trustees. The account says that it hung in one of the towers of the Alhambra after the capture of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, and was presented to Columbus by Isabella, who placed it in the chapel which was the beginning of the great Cathedral of Carthegena. When Carthegena was sacked and destroyed it fell as a spoil to the French ship *La Rochelle*, which was wrecked on the island of San Andreas. The account adds naively "A few of the crew were saved, together with the bell." Then by mixed commercial and romantic channels, it finds its way at last to the belfry of the African Methodist Church in Haleyville, N. J.

The third bell also commends itself to the Columbian Fair. This time it is a fig tree that rescues the resonant object from oblivion. A Gothic 'F' lends color, (though with a rather feeble historical tinge), to the theory that Ferdinand presented it to Columbus; who brought it to the West Indies; where it was hung in the belfry of a church, which was destroyed by an earthquake; which rather tumbled the church about and mixed up the belfry with a young "parasitic" fig tree whose nature it is to clasp its branches about any object; whereby the bell rose into the air and swung and rung to the passing breezes for more than three centuries. The account continues as follows:

"More than three hundred years passed

away. One day a man espied the bell in the arms of the fig tree where it had been thus wonderfully preserved from falling to the ground and being buried out of sight. The bell was secured, and for a long time was preserved as a venerated relic—almost worshipped by the superstitious natives of Santo Domingo. It finally came into the possession of Padre Bellini, a patriotic priest of Santo Domingo city, who hung it in the chapel of his convent school. His heirs will loan it to the World's fair.

"This bell is of bronze, very small, but of elegant workmanship (eight inches high by six and a half across), and bears on the surface the image of San Miguel, to whom it is dedicated and the letter 'F' in old Gothic. From this Gothic 'F' it is inferred that it was a gift to Columbus from Ferdinand of Spain, husband of Queen Isabella. When the historian and antiquarian shall have passed their opinion upon this relic, it may be predicted that few objects pertaining to our early history will surpass it in interest."

It can be safely said that this would be true if that opinion should prove a favorable one.

One Columbian relic naturally leads to another. They are said to be preparing to fire a salute at Chicago in celebration of Columbus' discovery with a cannon that was originally intended to intimidate and perhaps blow out the brains of his son Don Diego. That estimable youth, by reason of the exalted distinctions conferred on his father, found it not difficult to unite himself in marriage with a peeress of proud Spain, Maria de Toledo. Thereafter invested with the governorship of the island of San Domingo, it was fitting that he should build a palace to accommodate so fair and noble a bride. But as he was building, the perverse notion seized his subjects that the palace might be intended to serve as a citadel as well, and to prevent this uncomfortable contingency they constructed

a redoubt and planted a battery against the as yet incompleting residence of their Governor. By reason of a certain "innocuous desuetude" the redoubt fell into decay, the cannons tumbled one after another into the sea, but one of them considerably hid itself beneath the crumbling walls, only to be discovered under thirty feet of debris and was finally secured for the great Fair at Chicago. So that this anti-Columbian cannon may be on its way to the great city by the Lakes, to boom away to the honor of Diego's father, a pro-Columbian salute.

A curious document is cited in "The French in America," (reviewed in this number), which we do not remember having seen mentioned before, and which in a most remarkable manner foreshadowed the Declaration of Independence some thirty-three years. It is a pamphlet containing the proceedings of a convention of Pennsylvania Presbyterians, and has this somewhat verbose title: "A Renewal of the Covenants, National and Solemn League, A Confession of Sins, and an Engagement to Duties, and a Testimony, as they were carried out at Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania, November 11, 1743." Among the resolutions adopted was the following: "We must guard, according to the rights which Jesus Christ has transmitted to us, our bodies and our property free from all unjust restraint." Also this: "King George II. has none of the qualifications for governing this country which the Scriptures require" With drawn swords and uplifted hands the convention solemnly swore "to protect our persons, our property and our consciences against all attacks, and to defend the Gospel of Christ and the Liberty of the Nation against enemies within and without" Evidently these bold laymen and divines were ripe for the revolution, little more than a quarter century later,

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

"THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, from its first settlement to the year 1892. Edited by James Grant Wilson. Volume I. New York History Company, 1891.

It need not in the least be attributed to local prejudice to regard the story of the founding of New York more interesting and more romantic than that of any other city on the Atlantic border of the United States. To Plymouth, to Boston, to Jamestown, to Charlestown, colonists simply came and settled. The country was known before they came, and had been known for a long time. There were no questions of previous discoveries: there was no great vital water-way half seen and then again hidden from observation for nearly a century. But three navigators contend for the glory of the discovery of the harbor, the bay or the site of New York, and scholars hesitate as to whom belongs the crown. To the towns or sections of our republic first mentioned came a people well-known to all our citizens, whose language we speak, whose manners and customs we have largely inherited. To New York came a kindred race, but of a different language, and customs also different; a people whose history has only recently been made at all widely known by the brilliant pages of one of our own countrymen. And thus made known, the deeply interesting fact advances to the foreground that the colonists who founded New York came not as refugees from political or religious oppression; came not as the subjects of a king to conquer savage wilds at his bidding. They came the free citizens of a Republic which taught lessons to the founders of our own; they came in the bold,

enterprising pursuit of a commerce which embraced the ends of the earth.

Now such facts being involved in the story of New York, that story at once assumes a more than local significance. It appeals to students of history throughout our land. And none the less does this larger interest belong to the history of this one city, because that city has become the Metropolis of the Hemisphere which was still *new* when it was founded.

The Memorial History is written on the co-operative plan. Prof. Jameson, of Johns Hopkins, has recently given us a careful estimate of the advantages of that plan of writing history. Whatever it may sacrifice in the way of unity of style or of treatment, there is the overtopping consideration of the larger results which are made possible by "division of labor." So in the history before us—as in that of Boston—several hands have gathered the fruits of knowledge, of research, of diligent inquiry, of personal visiting of scenes, or examination of original papers or letters. Much that was hitherto hidden in printed or unprinted documentary collections, has thus inevitably come into view, interweaving itself with an added vividness among those leading and patent events which each historian must needs repeat. There is in this volume with chapters from so many authors, a diversity, perhaps some inequality of style. But there is one quality that is delightfully and assuringly uniform—a quality which will of course commend itself to the seeker after historical information rather than after literary finish, and that is, the unvaried industry of each writer on Gen-

eral Wilson's staff in collecting his facts; in gathering such (if it were possible in his department) as had not been recorded before; or in throwing side lights upon permanent occurrences from an examination of original sources even in the study of these. Here no doubt appears the impress of the editorial supervision, giving this leading and commanding aim of the Memorial History as the cue to each writer before any chapter was entrusted to him. The advantages of Gen. Wilson's previous experience as editor of the widely known and eminently valuable *Cyclopedia of American Biography* came into play here, and while not the author but the editor of this volume, credit for the whole is for this reason his due.

In the pages of this first volume of the Memorial History, the first century of its existence is considered. The circumstances noted at the beginning of this review are duly emphasized in no less than four chapters. The importance of this preliminary view fully warrants this large space devoted to it. Here the reader is led into careful and exhaustive discussions of explorations of the coast previous to Hudson's voyage and leading up to it. The curtain is next appropriately lifted upon the solemn yet savage solitudes which preceeded the most busy scenes, in so small a compass, upon the whole continent at the present day. There is nothing more striking or even poetic than the mere thought of this contrast between "Manhattan Island in the sixteenth century" (the title of the illustration which heads the chapter on the Indian dwellers on Manhattan), and that same island in the nineteenth. As we now approach the coming of Hudson, a long look is cast across the ocean and upon the country and the people whence the Half-Moon came. An understanding of their conditions, their institutions, their triumphs, is important for the comprehension of the colony they were here soon to establish, of the city they were here soon to found--and any one at all familiar with the peculiar forms or cir-

cumstances attending the planting of Manhattan Island will appreciate at once that a necessary part of the volume must be a careful review of the constitution and history of the Dutch West India Company. We are now ready to follow the progress of Henry Hudson, all unconscious of the great thing he was to do, "led in a way that he knew not," starting from Amsterdam, to find China by the way of Nova Zembla and Siberian coasts, and "fetching up" so to speak on the mud flats before Hudson or Albany: then, *and not till then*—convinced that there were no straits through North America, conducting to fabulous Cathay.

Now the history of the spot covered by the Queen of American commerce properly begins, and the subsequent plan of the volume is to treat the administrations of the successive governors. This allows one to watch in detail the gradual advancement of the great city from the little hamlet of houses nestling under the walls of the fort. Each governor in those early times necessarily made a distinct impression for good or ill upon the fortunes of the infant enterprise. The Dutch Directors-General were four in number, and each strongly different in mental or moral characteristics from the other. But whether energetic or indolent, whether weak or firm, whether honest or otherwise (and one at least was otherwise), their influence was overshadowed and their efforts handicapped by the great West India Company—the powerful Trade-trust, which saw in Manhattan Colony a commercial venture much more than an experiment in politics. The writers on this period have done full justice to this curious, perhaps anomalous complication of circumstances, which in itself forms one of the most instructive and fascinating subjects for the historical student.

But the Dutch sway passed away, the English came upon the scene, and at once a new development began. And this too is in line with the remarkable cosmopolitan character of New York City. As the editor remarks

in the preface; "the Hollanders, the Huguenots of France, and the English were the chief founders." That great amalgamation of races which now is going on over the whole extent of our Continental Republic, was being realized on a small scale on Manhattan Island. It succeeded well, as the reader of these pages is abundantly enabled to perceive. And we must observe again, that this, at present, National circumstance in epitome here, lifts the history of this city above its local bounds and places it before the whole Republic as a study of historical evolution, of social philosophy, and of race-fusion. It is mainly on this ground that in this review we are warranted in devoting so much space to this volume.

"THE FRENCH IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1777-1783." By Thomas Balch: Translated by Thomas Willing Balch. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates: 1891. Vol. 1.

This work well illustrates the greater interest and superior value which attaches to a small segment of history completely told, as compared with an attempt, however well executed, to set forth the outlines of an extended period. The one method gives us a bony skeleton, the other clothes its structure with flesh and blood. From the interesting monograph of Mr. Balch upon the part played by the French in the Revolution, with its full coloring of incident, and minutæ and detail of operations, undoubtedly we derive a truer as well as more entertaining conception of the entire struggle for independence than any more complete but conventional catalogue or synopsis of events could furnish.

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch in his preface tells us that the present work was conceived by his father during the years between 1854 or thereabouts, and 1859, when he was engaged in editing three volumes of Revolutionary and Colonial documents for the Pennsylvania Historical Society. "In sifting the manuscript from which the materials

for these volumes were drawn, his attention was called to the fact that the share which France had taken in the establishment of the independence of the United States had not been thoroughly studied or fairly narrated." To correct this deficiency he visited Paris in 1859, hoping to re-enforce the materials which he had on hand. He obtained access "to a large and valuable, in many cases till then, unused collection of documents," and a number of original and important but unpublished manuscripts, both French and American, many of them being the journals of actors in the scene narrated. Through this medium an exceedingly interesting and instructive panorama of pictures of Americans and American life of the Revolutionary period is afforded us, as viewed by educated French eyes. The second volume, yet to be published, will be especially rich in this direction, although the book before us (published in Paris in 1872, and now for the first time translated into English) has worked the same vein to a considerable extent, and with excellent results.

Thus volume second, yet to appear, will principally consist of historical notices of the French regiments in America, biographical notices of the French officers and "many episodes and interesting details, among which will be found a sketch of American society at that period, as it appeared to the French officers, who speak in their MSS. and letters of the private life of a great number of notable American families." Volume 1, which we have examined, presents an intelligent summary of Revolutionary events from a French standpoint to 1781, with an insight into the policy and attitude of France; and a complete and detailed account of the transactions of the French on this continent from that year to the end of the war.

In presenting the part which Calvinism played in teaching a love of freedom and fomenting the colonists to independence, Mr. Balch emphasizes the influence of the Huguenots, through whom indirectly, France thus

early contributed a factor in the evolution to freedom. When the issue came to war this people had in their blood the traditional hatred of France for England to re-enforce their determination to stand for what they deemed just and right in the sight of God and man. The stern religious faith of Huguenots and Puritans alike, their acceptance of the Scriptures as the sole arbiter of right, their assertion of their right to judge, and their readiness to denounce and contend against even kings where these potentates transgressed what they considered the commands of God, were, indeed, a fundamental and mighty force in shaping the alienation of the colonists.

The researches of Mr. Balch have thrown light upon another point of interest, by disclosing the secret policy of the French Government in fomenting the discontent of the colonists for some years previous to the war. This was the idea of the very able French minister, Choiseul, whose energy and ability rebuilt the French navy after its apparent irreparable annihilation and the utter prostration of the nation by the disaster of the Seven Year's War. During the years that he was accomplishing this and refilling the depleted French exchequers, he secretly dispatched various able agents to America to arouse the colonists against England. Pontleroy in 1764, and again under the assumed name of "Beaulieu" in 1766, was sent on such an errand; and Baron de Kalb, afterward killed in the battle of Camden, originally came to the colonies on the same secret mission. His instruction, dated April 12, 1767, required him, according to our author, "to ascertain what were the needs of the colonists for artillery officers and engineers, as well as for military stores and provisions. He was to study and stimulate the desire of the colonists to break with the English Government, to inform himself about their resources in troops and intrenched forts, about their projects of revolt, and the leaders whom they expected to put at their head."

This agrees well with the fact that at the very outset of the Revolution and long before the efforts of Franklin and Deane had secured a formal alliance, the French Government connived at, if it did not instigate and procure the sending of arms and provisions, secretly, to America.

Mr. Balch is peculiarly well fitted to treat his double theme, with an equal regard for the pride and interests of both France and the United States. He is evidently proud of his French blood and antecedents, but is quite as proud of his American citizenship and jealous that our national honor shall be scrupulously maintained before his French audience. This is well illustrated in his treatment of La Fayette, who is revered as an unselfish patriot and lover of freedom in this country, but quite generally despised as a coward and time-server in France, because he neither excused the oppressions of the times of Louis XVI., nor could sanction the murder of that unfortunate monarch nor the thousand other sanguinary horrors of the French Revolution, under the bloody dictatorship of Robespierre and his confederates. Mr. Balch justly accepts the American estimate of La Fayette, and yet has a sympathetic understanding of the French misconception. He hopes to correct the French view, by gently pointing out to his relatives across the water, just how they arrived at their hasty and false judgment. We quote some sentences in this connection: "The intentions of the worthy man who interposes between the parties ready to tear each other to pieces, are generally misunderstood by all. . . . La Fayette was necessarily sacrificed in his character of go-between and mediator between the partisans of liberal royalty and extreme Republicanism. . . . The rank which he occupied, as well as the popularity which he enjoyed, led him to believe that he could guide the existing state of affairs, and in case of need control it. . . . He foresaw neither the excesses to which the people were soon to go, nor the

resistance which royalty was to oppose to progress. . . . He lost, at the same time, the favor of the court which treated him as an enemy, and the affection of the people who considered him a traitor. . . . Whilst in France his military talents are disputed, and his disinterestedness is styled a farce, and his liberalism is called calculation; the Americans erect monuments to him and gratefully associate his name with that of Washington."

Our author hopes eventually, for a correction of the injustice of the French toward the memory of their distinguished countryman. "In America," he writes, "the judgment of posterity has begun for La Fayette. His memory is venerated; his reputation is free from every stain. But in his own country he is not, and cannot be judged yet, impartially. The dissensions born of the struggle of 1789, and the massacre of 1793, are not yet allayed. The French Revolution is not finished. Civil equality is secured, but political liberty is always in dispute." It is noticeable that while La Fayette is misjudged in France, Washington is venerated, in America, as the perfect type and ideal of nobility and patriotism. He has been even figured on the French stage as the hero of numerous dramas. And yet we know that while Washington would have sympathized, as did La Fayette, with the efforts of the people against oppression, yet the eminent Frenchman could not have surpassed him in abhorrence for the tyrannous sway and horrible and innumerable crimes perpetrated in the name of justice and freedom by the bloody guillotine-reformers.

Space will not permit even the mere mention of many of the new and interesting things which this volume furnishes, and we must content ourselves with two or three specimen citations. The spirit of fellowship between the American and French troops is entertainingly set forth in a letter from La Fayette to Washington after the arrival in Rhode Island of the French under Rocham-

beau. "You would have been amused the other day," he writes, "to see two hundred and fifty of our recruits who came to Conanicut without provisions and without tents, and who mingled so well with the French troops that every Frenchman, officer or soldier, took an American with him and shared with him in a most friendly way, his bed and supper. The patience and sobriety of our militia is so much admired that two days ago a French colonel assembled his officers to persuade them to follow the good example given by the American troops to the French soldiers."

When the French troops reached Philadelphia on the march to besiege Yorktown, we have a description of the capital, and at that time metropolis of the revolted colonies. The Prince de Broglie, who tested the hospitality of Philadelphia, speaks of "the pretty complexions and the good breeding of almost all the women," and mentions the same habit of universal tea drinking which had been noted of Boston as well. The French minister, Luzerne, took him to tea at the home of Mrs. Robert Morris, wife of the Comptroller-General of the United States. He thus describes the affair: "Her house is simple, but well furnished and neat. The doors and tables are of a superb mahogany and beautifully polished. * * I drank excellent tea, and I should even now be drinking it, I believe, had not the amassador [De La Luzerne] charitably notified me at the twelfth cup, that I must put my spoon across my cup, when I wished to finish with this sort of torture of warm water. 'For,' he said to me, 'it is almost as ill-bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you as it would be indiscreet for the mistress of the house to propose a fresh one, when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her what your intentions are on this point.'"

The Prince took a rather cynical view of the Colonial Congress. The unanimous opinion of all those people to whose opinion some respects is due, is that Congress is com-

posed of ordinary people." According to our Frenchman, the reason why "the assemblies of the several States seemed to avoid sending to Congress the men most distinguished for their talents," was that "if, at the opening of the Revolution, the most active minds and most vigorous personalities had been chosen members of the general assembly, they would have led the others and made their own opinions alone prevail;" while, on the other hand, "the persons of ability had discovered the secret of obtaining for themselves the important offices, governorships and other valuable posts, and therefore had

deserted Congress." Continuing in this sarcastic strain he adds: "Of the men who appeared to me to possess much intellect and strength of mind among those whom I met in Philadelphia, was a Mr. Morris, surnamed 'Governor' [Gouverneur]. He is well informed and speaks French pretty well; however, I think that his superior abilities which he has not concealed with sufficient care, will prevent his ever occupying an important office." Yet notwithstanding the Prince's claim of our forefather's care to select stupid men for office, Mr. Morris for a long term served as United States Minister to France.



NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

A monthly meeting of the California Historical Society (San Francisco), was held on Jan. 12th. Dr. Taylor presided and a paper prepared by Amos W. Bishop of Oakland was read. It was entitled "Sketch of an Early California Mission."

The Indiana Historical Society, (Indianapolis) held its annual meeting Dec. 31st. It has largely increased its membership and has taken a fresh interest in the perpetuation of Indiana history, especially that of the pioneer period. The Society has made arrangements to publish its current historical papers. The Society is over fifty years old. Its latest pamphlet is on "The Rank of Charles Osborne as an Anti-Slavery Pioneer" by Hon. George W. Julian, and is really an account of the rise of the Abolition movement in this country.

The Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka) held its annual meeting on January 19. Addresses were made by President Emery and Dr. McVicar, of Washburn College. Ex-Gov. Thos. A. Osborne was elected President and F. G. Adams re-elected Secretary.

The Maine Historical Society (Portland) held their session on January 21. Among the papers read was the following: The Ancient Town of Augusta Near the Mouth of the Kennebec. By Henry W. Wheeler, of Brunswick.

Notes on Pre-Columbian Discovery. By James P. Baxter.

Samuel Denny of Ancient Georgetown. By Parker M. Reed, of Bath.

The Maryland Historical Society is still

actively interested in the selection of a successor to its late President, J. H. B. Latrobe. Mr. Wallis and Gen. Johnson have been formerly put in nomination. The election occurs at the February meeting.

The 38th annual meeting of the Old Colony Historical Society (Taunton, Mass.) was held on January 13.

The following officers were elected. President Dr. S. Hopkins Emory; Cor. Secretary Charles A. Reed; Historiographer E. H. Reed.

The Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul) held its annual meeting on January 11. Gov. Ramsey presided. Hon. Moses K. Armstrong presented a very valuable manuscript volume, being a journal of Gen. Harney's expedition against the Indians in 1855, illustrated with maps drawn with the pen. Secretary Williams read his annual report. This shows a condition of great prosperity. The library has now over 20,000 bound volumes and more unbound. The Society has an ample income, a large active membership, and has won an honorable place by its publications and its historical work.

The annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, (Nebraska City), was held on January 12th. Hon. W. H. Eller of Blair, prepared a paper on Old Fort Calhoun, which was read by Secretary Caldwell. The paper threw considerable light on this, the earliest military post of Nebraska, as it was written from personal research and observation. The session ended with a most in-

teresting address by Hon. J. Sterling Morton, on "A Trip from Nebraska City to Salt Lake City in 1855."

The Oneida Historical Society, N. Y., held its annual meeting on Jan. 12. Gen. C. W. Darling read the report which shows active historical interest. The Society has appointed a committee to secure an appropriation from the legislature to properly care for and distinguish the resting place of the revolutionary hero, Gen. Herkimer.

The Buffalo Historical Society, N. Y., held its annual meeting on January 12. Joseph C. Greene, the retiring president, was succeeded by George S. Hazard. Geo. W. Townsend was elected secretary. The flags of the 100th Regiment received by them from the Board of Trade in 1862 and carried through the war, were presented to the Society by Major Stowits and accepted by Geo. S. Hazard, in a patriotic and eloquent address.

The annual meeting of the Dover Historical Society, N. H., was held on January 20. Hon. Charles H. Sawyer was elected president, and A. G. Whittemore, secretary.

The annual meeting of the Buck's County Historical Society, Pa., was held on January 19. Interesting historical papers were read by I. A. Anders on "The Schwenkfelders"—and by Rev. J. G. Dengler and Gen. W. W. H. Davis.

The annual meeting of the Dauphin County Historical Society, (Harrisburg, Pa.,) was held on January 14. A. Boyd Hamilton was elected president, and Dr. Wm. H. Egle, corresponding secretary.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, (Pittsburg), held its monthly meeting on January 22. A very interesting paper

on the "Early History of the Sewickly Valley," was read by Rev. James Allison.

The 70th annual meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society, (Providence), was held on January 12. President Horatio Rogers delivered the annual address, which stated that the Society has never attained to greater prosperity and strength than it has now.

The West Virginia Historical Society held its annual meeting on January 20. Dr. J. P. Hale was elected president and V. A. Lewis, secretary.

The Virginia Historical Society as mentioned last month held its general meeting in Richmond December 21.

The following programme sufficiently attests the historical interest of this meeting.

Monday evening, December 21st, "Early Revolutionary History of Virginia," 1773-74, by Prof. James Mercer Garnett; University of Virginia; "Historic Elements in Virginia Education and Literary Effort," by Prof. John B. Henneman, Hampden-Sidney College, Va.; "Notes on Recent Work in Southern History," by Prof. William P. Trent; University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; "Catalogue of Epitaphs on Ancient Tombstones in York, James City and Warwick Counties, Va.," by Prof. J. L. Hall, William and Mary College, Va.

Tuesday evening, December 22d: "The First Election of Washington to the House of Burgesses," by Hon. R. T. Barton, Winchester, Va.; "The Old Brick Church, Smithfield, Va.," built in 1632, by Hon. R. S. Thomas, Smithfield, Va.; "Richmond's First Academy," projected by M. Quesday de Beaurepaire, in 1786, by Mr. Richard Heyward Gaines, Richmond, Va.; "Agriculture in Virginia during the First Twenty Years of the Colony," by Mr. Philip A. Bruce, Richmond, Va.; "Some Unpublished Facts Relating to Bacon's Rebellion in Accomac

County, Va.," by Mr. F. P. Brent, Virginia; "Thomas Hansford, the First American Martyr to Liberty," by Mrs. Annie Tucker Tyler.

Prof. Garnett in his paper dwelt on the part Virginia played in bringing on the war of Independence. "It used to be said, that Massachusetts should share with Virginia the honor of the commencement of the revolution. It cannot be denied that Massachusetts first began letters of correspondence, because letters were sent to Virginia by that colony. Virginia promoted the rebellion however, for it was she who sent out letters of correspondence to the other colonies existing at that time."

Mr. Bruce's paper was full of fresh and entertaining points. He demonstrated that many of the methods to which we are now indebted for our great agricultural supremacy had their birth at this time and have really undergone few changes.

The agricultural developments during this period, contended Mr. Bruce, bear a close relation to all of the future developments along this line. All subsequent work had experienced the usefulness of the plantation period.

Mr. Barton's paper graphically described elections in which Washington was a candidate, and showed that the conduct of elections in those days were dependent on equally as peculiar conditions as they are at this period, and that the Father of Our Country suffered defeat at the hands of his opponents through the influence of a whiskey dealer in one campaign at least, before he gained his first seat in the House of Burgesses.

Mrs. Tyler's paper contained some new and valuable facts regarding the history of Thomas Hansford and his family.

Prof. Henneman's interesting paper is presented in this number.





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Algernon S. Sullivan.